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THE PRESBYTERIAN MOVEMENT

IN THE

REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

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THE PRESBYTERIAN MOVEMENT

IN THE

REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE

MINUTE BOOK OF THE DEDHAM CLASSIS

1582-1589

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FROM THE MS. IN THE POSSESSION OF J. F. GURNEY, ESQUIRE
KESWICK HALL, NORFOLK

BY

ROLAND G. USHER, PH.D. (HARVARD)

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY 1962

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this volume is to present from contemporary documents a narrative history of the 'Presbyterian' movement during the reign of Elizabeth. To this end I have printed first a narrative of the movement as a whole by Richard Bancroft, an account hostile to the Presbyterians. For greater completeness I have added to this text, sometimes in full, oftener in abstract, such additional facts of importance as I could find after a diligent search in the printed and manuscript materials accessible. I have placed beside this a narrative of the doings of a typical local subdivision of the party, the Dedham Classis, an account written by a member of that Classis, and therefore favourable to the movement. Following this 'Minute Book' are a number of letters and papers written by or to that Classis, which allow a closer view than otherwise would be possible of their proceedings, of their personality, and of their relations to their own party and to the Established Church.

In the Introduction I have sought to show that these documents which I have printed are valuable and authentic; that they have been scarcely known and even less utilised; and that the history of the movement as hitherto presented is not merely fragmentary but actually incorrect. Next I have attempted to give a brief summary of the movement as shown by these documents,

and have added some general considerations and conclusions. To this I have appended a bibliography of sources and secondary books, with a view to include everything of value, and especially to indicate for the reader who would study further, the original tracts containing the constitutional ideas of these men. The number of names of persons occurring in the book, their comparative obscurity and often recurrence, have led me to place in alphabetical order in the Introduction such biographical notes as would traditionally have appeared in the footnotes.

I desire to acknowledge the great kindness of Mr. J. F. Gurney, by whose consent the 'Minute Book' is printed for the first time. I am also indebted to my brother, Mr. A. P. Usher, for aid in preparing the text of this volume for the press. My very hearty thanks are due to Mr. Hubert Hall for that never-failing courtesy and kind assistance which he has so generously accorded me.

R. G. U.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

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INTRODUCTION

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THESE DOCUMENTS

'Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, published and practiced within this Iland of Brytaine under Pretence of Reformation and for the Presbyteriall Discipline. London. Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe. 1593. 8°.' Such is the full title of the tract, a portion of which is here reprinted. Another edition for A. and J. Churchill, London, no date, 8°; it was reprinted, London, 1640, 4° (for J. Wolfe?), and again in 1712, London, 8°. It is composed of four parts. Book I., 'Disciplinary Grounds and Practices:' a summary of the Geneva and Scottish Church Constitutions. Book II., 'English Scottizing, for discipline by rayling.' These first two books are composed of collections and citations from the well-known published writings of these men. Book III., 'English Scottizing for Discipline by Practice.' This section, pp. 65–144, is the one from which the historical section has been reprinted, substantially as it stands. Many omissions of needlessly full wording and detail have been made to compress it, but these do not, it is felt, injure the account. Book IV., 'English Scottizing, the Discipline by Threatening,' is an account of the Marprelate Tracts and Coppinger's so called 'plot.'

Originally anonymous, it was and has been unanimously

attributed to Richard Bancroft. He was born in 1544, and studied at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he became a scholar, and also proceeded B.A., 1566–7. He then left Christ's for Jesus College, and remained some years, taking the degrees usually preceding the degree of D.D., and finally the Doctorate itself in 1585. He had already been prominent as an administrator and Churchman, and as a member of the High Commission at Lincoln and at London (in the which he continued till his death), before he became, in 1587, chaplain to Sir Christopher Hatton, then Lord Keeper. In 1587 he was appointed canon of Westminster, in 1590 prebendary of St. Paul's, and also began to serve as secretary, and finally, in 1592, as chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift. He had been vigorous in the prosecution of Campion, 1581–2; in the detection of the authors of the Marprelate Tracts; and then of this 'Classical Movement.' In 1597 he became Bishop of London, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury, 1604–1610. He was a man of high ideals, great integrity, and unexampled activity.

Being the discoverer of this 'Classical Movement,' and hence the man best informed upon it, he was deputed by the authorities to write the official account of it, which was to prove to the men concerned and to the people in general that the government was thoroughly well informed of all that had taken place. The whole object of the tract, then, was to present a narrative so judicial, so carefully prepared, and so thoroughly based on unimpeachable evidence that it should silence the complaints of the leaders for their so called 'illegal' handling.

Bancroft had every opportunity any one might have had to find out the truth.' Many of the leaders and men influential in the movement were put in prison and examined, some of whom turned State's evidence and told much of what they knew. The houses of all concerned were searched, and, as they complained and Bancroft shows, an abundance of direct and indirect proof was procured in the shape of letters, copies of documents and resolu-

tions. It is further probable that even before any arrests were made or depositions taken the Government knew much of the truth.[1]

Hence it is certain that if any one outside the movement knew the facts about it Bancroft did.

A more important question, however, arises. Given that Bancroft knew the facts, has he told them and not distorted the story? This is difficult to answer, and leads necessarily to a consideration (1) of what other evidence we have; (2) of the treatment of Bancroft's tract by previous writers; (3) of such proofs of its accuracy as we can adduce.

Let it be said, once for all, that this tract of Bancroft's is practically all that we possess upon the general aspects of the movement, and our materials for checking its accuracy thoroughly and in detail are of such limited description that no real test is possible.[2] We possess in Strype and Fuller[3] a few of the depositions[4] made by those who turned State's evidence. These are valuable as far as they go, but are clearly not the final testimony of those men, and are furthermore on those points of most importance to verify, a flat denial that to their knowledge any such facts ever happened. On the points, too, on which they have something to

[1] This is merely an argument from analogy from other State trials. See documents on Garnet printed in Foley's *Jesuit Records*, Spedding's *Bacon*, on Essex's Trial, and, further, a paper of Bacon's (Spedding, i. 318) for the examination of a priest (1594), showing how completely the Government knew the details. Bancroft probably secured most of the evidence during the investigation of the Marprelate Tracts. We have no evidence that the movement was known as a general one prior to 1587.

[2] Here, for the moment, the 'Minute Book' is excluded, in order to show that the material outside it, while not contradictory, is at the same time not sufficient to establish the case.

[3] Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 6, 13, 23, 59, 74–81, 83, 85, 93, iii. 231, 235, 242, 271–285, 268. Fuller, Bk. ix. 206.

[4] It is quite clear that Bancroft had other depositions to use besides these here given. Besides, Stone's deposition, as printed by Fuller, is different from anything in Strype, which papers are clearly nothing but summaries of the real depositions made more or less accurately and fully for legal purposes of the trial, or for information of the officers of State.

say, their statements are so contradictory, fragmentary, and vague, that practically no reliance can be placed upon them as evidence. The witnesses were evidently telling as little as possible. There are also a few letters and papers found elsewhere which are of value as corroborating or adding to the points of detail mentioned by Bancroft.[1] These, however, even if true, do not necessarily prove the truth of the main propositions he advanced. It cannot be questioned that Bancroft's tract contains a great deal of truth, especially in points of detail; the depositions which we have clearly prove so much. The point to be ascertained is whether or not we are justified in accepting it as the whole truth, and in those points on which it alone gives information.

The tract is not only all that we have, but all that any one else has had since that time, for the great mass of papers collected by the Government has been either destroyed or lost. Nearly all secondary books quote as their source of information Heylin, Fuller, Strype, and Neal. But there can be little doubt that these authors derived almost all their information from Bancroft, and either quoted it literally, in most cases without acknowledgment, or changed the wording a trifle. 'Some of the brethren,' wrote Heylin, 'have extolled it (the Book of Discipline) to the very skies, as being the onely Bond of Peace; the Bane of Heresie; the Punisher of Sin; and maintainer of righteousnesse: A Discipline full of all goodness, for the peace and honour of God's people, ordained for the joy and happiness of all Nations.'[2] This he had found in Bancroft as follows: 'It is found to be the onely bond of peace, the bane of heresie, the punisher of sinne and maintainer of righteousnes. It is pure, perfect and full of all goodnes, for the peace, wealth and honour of God's people, and is ordained for the ioy and happiness of all nations.'[3] Compare

[1] These have been inserted in brackets in their proper places in the text of the *Dangerous Positions*.

[2] Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 9.

[3] Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions*, 43 (not here printed).

the following with *infra*, pp. 4, 5 : 'This first establishment they indorsed by the name of the orders of Wandesworth. In which the Elders' names are agreed on, the manner of the election declared, the Approvers of them mentioned, their officers agreed on also and described.' 'About this time Clark, Travers, Gardiner, Barker, Cheston and lastly Crook and Egerton, joyned themselves to the brotherhood. Amongst whom the handling of such points as concerned the Discipline became very frequent, many motions being made, and some conclusions settled in pursuance of it.'[1] Neal copied this from Heylin,[2] and it will be found in most books since written, most of whose authors, having no idea whence it came, repeated the mistake Heylin made in using Bancroft. Mr. W. A. Shaw states[3] that the phrase 'the presbytery at Wandesworth' 'originated with Heylin.' But Heylin borrowed it from Bancroft. Another passage about a meeting at Knewstubbs's house at Cockfield[4] will be found almost verbatim in nearly every book ever written on the Puritans.[5] We venture to believe that beyond these citations (and the facts we have printed in the text in brackets) there will be found little in any of these books, or anywhere else, concerning this movement. Strype has scarcely used Bancroft's tract and has cited hardly anything from it, but he knew of it and referred to it.[6] Cooper in his 'Athenae Cantabrigienses'

[1] Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 3. [2] Neal, *Puritans*, i. 314 (1816).

[3] *English Hist. Review*, iii. 661. [4] See p. 7, *infra*.

[5] Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 25 ; Fuller, *Church History*, Bk. ix. sect iv. No. 16 ; Neal, i. 351, &c. ; and another section concerning Burghley and the remodelling of the 'Book of Discipline' is in Heylin, Bk. vii. sect. 42 ; Fuller, Bk. ix. sect. vi. Cf. *infra*, pp. 7, 9. Other cases are as follows : Fuller, Bk. ix. sect. 3, No. 8, with *infra*, p. 4 ; Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 26, with the original tract section not here reprinted ; Fuller, Bk. ix. sect. vii. 195, with *infra*, p. 19 ; *ibid.* Bk. ix. sect. vii. 194, with *infra*, p. 17 ; *ibid.* Bk. ix. sect. v. ; Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 33 ; Neal, i. 278, with original tract, p. 70. Fuller mentions Bancroft frequently by the sub-title 'English Scottizing,' Bk. ix. sect. vii. No. 21, and 23. Also as 'Dangerous Positions,' Bk. ix. sect. vi. No. 26 ; sect. vii. No. 42 ; etc.

[6] He mentions it, *Whitgift*, i. 559 ; *Annals*, iii. pt. i. 692, iv. 194. He mentions and uses Bancroft's *Survey of the Holy Discipline*. *Whitgift*, i. 132-3, 136,

has cited it at times among his general mass of notes for biographical details.

Still it must be evident that if practically all written hitherto has been based on this tract, (for the fact that Strype did not cite it continually by no means proves that he did not use it) those writers have utilised very little of the information in it. While the tract contains a connected history of the whole movement, we have hitherto known only a few incidents selected by Heylin and Fuller. Moreover these fragments have been incorrectly used. Heylin and Neal attributed to the presbytery at Wandesworth not only the names of the men attributed to it by Bancroft, but also all those whom Bancroft gives a few lines later as members of the *same* party in *London*.[1] Heylin speaks of Wilcox, Hen, and Ackton as of the Oxford party, while Bancroft merely says that they were present at a meeting there held.[2] Heylin also added to Bancroft's statements concerning the meeting at Cockfield the fact that Cartwright was there. But Cartwright was (as far as we are able to trace him) in Antwerp at that time. Mr. Shaw censures Heylin for carelessness in dates, when in reality the trouble lies deeper.[3] Mr. Shaw apparently did not know of the Bancroft tract.

This tract, then, being of such importance and as yet almost unknown, deserves reprinting.

Besides being the best and most extensive account we possess, and as well the source from which practically every writer has drawn such details as he has seen fit to give, the tract probably contains the essential truth, and the ultimate knowledge we are

470, ii. 105; *Annals*, iii. pt. i. 332. But he neglected to quote the *Dangerous Positions* at many places where he might have made good use of it. *Whitgift*, i. 502, 537, 554, ii. 5 ff., 56–8, 74, 91, iii. 235 ff. *Grindal*, pp. 200, 320. *Annals*, ii. pt. i. 325, &c. This is rather puzzling, and as far as it goes for anything tends to show that Strype did not consider it good evidence. Yet he refers his readers to it. He seems to have had also some original papers not now traceable. *Whitgift*, ii. 58 and i. 555.

[1] Neal, i. 314; Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 3, and *infra*, p. 4.

[2] *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. viii. sect. 2, and *infra*, p. 8.

[3] *Eng. Hist. Review*, iii. 661, note.

likely to attain. The first fact attesting its literal accuracy is, that in a day of polemics and secret presses, no answer or contradiction ever appeared. Next, certain details, found in independent sources, which have been inserted in the text in smaller type, confirm and amplify it, and in no case contradict any detail. An original MS. paper found by Strype coincides with Bancroft's copy of the decrees passed at the Synod at Coventry.[1] The names given by Stone's deposition, as we have it in Fuller,[2] tally closely with the names given by Bancroft.[3] The important 'decrees of Cambridge' in Strype[4] take their place naturally in the text. There is an important letter of Snape to Barbon (p. 20), written to put the confederates on their guard concerning his examination before the High Commissioners, in which he gives what he can remember of the 'Articles.' This letter tallies closely, though not too closely, with the Articles themselves.[5] It could hardly have been forged without being later denied, and besides, Bancroft in his preface offers to show all such papers to whosoever wished to see them.

Some may feel that the flat contradictions between the tract and many of the statements in the depositions we possess must damage the value of the tract. If those papers be carefully read it will appear that they really confirm it. Most of the questions put to the Puritans examined contained some specific charge concerning the use of the 'Book of Discipline,' or the performance of some specified thing at some specified meeting. These, the Puritans denied. They 'are sure there was no *such* thing *concluded there* by *them*, as the *information* supposed; but *who* was *there* and *what* was concluded being no part of the bill they have not to answer.' On any one of these words in italics might by a sort of special pleading be hung a denial. The disagreement of such statements with the tract is really not evidence against the tract's value.

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 555, and *infra*, p. 17.
[2] Bk. ix. 206.
[3] *Infra*, p. 19.
[4] *Annals*, iii. pt. ii. 477.
[5] Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 6.

THE 'MINUTE BOOK'

Yet all these facts and arguments would give little actual reason to believe true all the unattested details given by Bancroft, were it not for the 'Minute Book' of the Dedham Classis, here printed for the first time. The MS. is contained in a large folio volume, bound in calf, with a pattern in gilt, the property of Mr. J. F. Gurney, of Keswick Hall, Norfolk, by whose kind permission the present editor transcribed it. In his collection it is labelled 'Miscellanea 10,' but was numbered and noticed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission as Gurney MSS. 26.[1] The 'Minute Book' occupies folios 223–234, and the letters occupy folios 235 to 269. The whole is in the handwriting of the author, Richard Parker, a member and probably secretary of the Classis. 'This booke I fynished in Kettringham, being the worke of one moneth spare besides myne ordenary exercises; ended I say the 10 of July, 1604. Richard Parker. Laus Deo.'[2] The book was composed from notes evidently taken at the time. A biographical sketch of Parker will be found in the Introduction.

The value of such an holograph account by one of the most active of the Classis is enhanced by the fact that it is not only the best possible record of the inner life of the 'presbytery,' but as well a confirmation, of an extent and an authority difficult to overestimate, of all the facts detailed by Bancroft. Concerning it nothing more need be said. Without it, we could hardly trust the details of the tract. Without it, we could hardly hope to know anything of the inside aspects of the movement. With it and the tract, our account seems to be as full as could be wished.

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report* xii., Appendix, part ix. 147. [2] MSS. f. 261.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CLASSICAL MOVEMENT

'New orators are rising up from among us . . .' wrote Sandes, Bishop of London, to Bullinger, in August 1573, 'and are striving to shape out for us I know not what platform of a Church. . . .' They declare that the 'civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters;' that 'the Church of Christ admits of no other government than that by presbyteries, viz. by the minister, elders, and deacon;' that 'each parish should have its own presbytery;' that 'the choice of ministers of necessity belongs to the people;' that the Church should be regulated and the State governed by the law of God as found in the Canonical Scriptures.[1] Such were in essence the theories advanced by Cartwright and Travers soon after 1570. Further speculation and conference on the subject resulted in the systematisation of these ideas into the 'Book of Discipline,' formulated by Travers in Latin as early as 1573, and later amended and revised in English by Cartwright and Travers himself. In final form their system was, despite its voluminous details, one of extreme simplicity.

All ecclesiastical government in the parishes was vested in a pastor, elders, deacons, and widows. The ministers of twelve parishes combined to form a classis to handle matters common to the parishes. Delegates from the ministers and elders of twenty-four classes formed a provincial synod or council, and the delegates from these synods formed the national synod or general assembly. In these bodies was vested the entire ecclesiastical authority. The

[1] *Zürich Letters*, Parker Society, i. 295–6. For a complete list of material on this point see the Bibliography.

Prince was a member of the Church, not its head; he was to obey the decrees of the Church, not to declare or formulate them. From these simple premises, however, grew a widely ramifying cause for argument and disagreement with each other, the State, and above all with the Established Church, which made the controversy long and the documents embodying it even longer.

Given that this theory was the Divine plan for Church government, how was it to be substituted for the Established Institution? According to the 'conservative' and generally accepted idea, no complete 'substitution' would be necessary. Such a system might be, and indeed, they declared, was already legally extant in the English Church. It would be necessary to reform the Church, not to alter it. If the surplice, kneeling at Communion, the ring in marriage, the cross in baptism, and the like were omitted, and a careful revision of the wording of the Common Prayer Book made, the Church would have been brought back by this purification to its pristine simplicity of ritual.[1] Its institution might be as easily remodelled. The Archbishops and Bishops, Archdeacons and ministers were to be each assisted in Church government by eight or twelve persons (pastors, deacons, 'grave and godly men of worship,' *i.e.* laymen, and perhaps justices of the peace). These were to be appointed by the assemblies of the Church, which could be developed with little trouble from the gatherings of the clergy usual at the various visitations, for at them the method of procedure was legally discretionary with the official in charge.[2] Such was in all probability the plan considered by the majority of the men concerned as the most feasible.

These reforms were to be set on foot and, if possible, the adherence of the officials of State was to be gained to the full erection of the presbyteries and elderships, by means of petitions signed by as many and as influential men as possible. Much was hoped from

[1] See the title 'Grievances' in the Bibliography.

[2] See *infra*, pp. 85, 89; Strype, *Annals*, iii. pt. i. 320; 'Mr. Sampson's Book for the Parliament,' 1584.

the Parliament, and ideas were entertained of sending thither a deputation of ministers, who should appear at the Bar of the House of Commons clad in their robes to present such a petition (*infra*, pp. 14, 36). Hence petitions flowed forth in a never-ending stream to Parliament, to the Queen, to Burghley and other great Lords, and to the influential local gentry.[1] Such was the theory of this movement, and now it becomes important to inquire how far and in what manner, if at all, this 'Discipline' for presbyteries was put in practice.

It must not be supposed that the movement which finally took shape and the forms it finally assumed were consciously developed or in any way modelled upon the plan of Travers. The Classis of 1585 was an infinitely subtle growth, difficult to trace because of the lack of precise information during its early years.

It began in the prayer meetings which gathered about the more radical ministers from the reign of Mary down to 1570. Gradually these meetings began to assume the shape of ecclesiastical communities with definite 'agreements' of one sort and another, but always tending towards some 'discipline' based on the Scriptures. This then became connected with the movement in the Established Church for a more learned ministry. The prophesyings which embodied the latter were the first step toward a gathering of ministers for some common purpose (p. 4). Primarily met to consider some passages of Scripture with a view to increasing their learning, the ministers there assembled came naturally to exercise among themselves a sort of disciplinary authority. Not only that, but some of them, frequently men forbidden by the bishops to preach in their own pulpits, took the opportunity to argue against the Established Church and to rail against bishops and officers of

[1] See Bibliography, 'Petitions' for citations. This, and its attendant subject the Martyrology, fills nearly all the histories of Puritanism, to the exclusion of everything else. It is clear now that its importance is small. Burghley had little approval for these men, and still less for their ideas. He did think that they might be kept quiet, with a little patience and forbearance. See Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 25.

State. The 'exercise' became, in fact, a battle ground for all the quarrels and disorders in the Church.[1] Begun about 1570, the Queen ordered them to be suppressed in 1577. Yet through these gatherings the Nonconformists had acquired great strength, and had in them gained that knowledge of their number, identity, and whereabouts which made possible the later Classical Movement. But they had also seen in action a form of association which many of the clergy were disposed to favour, and which certainly was not in the least illegal, for the law remained exactly what it had been while the prophesyings were practised with episcopal sanction. Hence the 'elect' few, who were determined to meet in some fashion, continued their meetings to discuss Scripture, but called them private 'fasts,' a purely devotional observance, and omitted all attempt at disciplinary control. But the gatherings at these fasts at Leicester, Coventry, or Stamford often included all the ministers of the district.[2]

The old prayer meeting had been a gathering of laymen under a minister. The prophesying had been a gathering of ministers to discuss Scripture, quarrel over moot points of controversy, and incidentally exercise a very slight and petty disciplinary jurisdiction over one another. The fast had been a meeting of ministers purely for religious purposes. Indirectly, outside influences lent their aid. In 1580 the great Jesuit scare was at its height, and so continued for several years. This drew away from the Nonconformists the pressure of the Established organisation towards conformity, and as well made the higher clergy willing to wink at their irregularities for the sake of quiet and support. Hence came the 'Conference'—a meeting of ministers and of selected men not in orders, for the study of the Scriptures, for fasts, and for exercising control over one another in all matters of 'conduct.' Here too the authority which in the prophesying the moderator had exercised singly was exercised by the assembled body of ministers, the

[1] Strype, *Grindal*, p. 326. [2] Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 286.

moderator becoming little more than a temporary chairman. Such was the Dedham Classis in 1582; such was, at about the same time or a few years earlier, the London Classis (p. 5). The 'Conference' became a 'Classis' about 1583 by the beginning of a regular connection with other similar bodies (pp. 7, 10); by an assumption by the assembled ministers of a power not only to advise one another in all things, and in matters of conduct to decide, but of a power to decide and enforce their decision, if possible, in all matters, even of ordination and canon law (p. 28), and of a power to settle by discussion the proper form of government for the Church and their relations to the bishops pending such a change (pp. 5, 11).

The Classis became a member of a sort of hierarchy only about 1585, though its own development was finished earlier. This hierarchical connection was imposed upon the classes and did not grow naturally out of them. When it became evident to the leaders, about 1583, that there were a number of these meetings already organised, then the possibility occurred to them of carrying out the plan suggested by Travers in 1573. These associations would form the primary assemblies there mentioned, and the larger bodies could be developed from them. The organisation and the theory had, therefore, a separate origin. The theory sprang from Travers and Cartwright; the nucleus of the organisation was a spontaneous growth, due to the desire of men to consider their difficulties with kindred spirits and the lack of a provision for any such meeting by the Church authorities.

This point having been reached, the energies of all men interested became wholly devoted to the attempt to associate into some form of government, and to attempt to agree among themselves, by constant debating and correspondence, upon the details of this divine government which they wished to institute. The matter was complicated for them and for us by the fact that to have set up the 'Book of Discipline' in its entirety would have been illegal.

The leaders made the most strenuous efforts to build up a Church within a Church, and to do it legally. Lawyers were consulted (pp. 31, 36, 38). 'We had special care in our meetings,' wrote Cartwright to Burghley, 'to keep ourselves in obedience to the laws.'[1] 'Concerning our conferences,' wrote the ministers imprisoned in 1592, 'we have been charged to have given orders and made ministers, and to have administered the censure of the Church, and finally to have exercised all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. . . . We protest before God and the holy angels that we never exercised any part of such jurisdiction, nor had any purpose agreed among us to exercise the same before we should by public law be authorised thereunto.'[2] Their meetings were, they deposed, not according to any rules in any book, 'but by a free, voluntary consent among themselves, as might best stand with their several business and convenient occasion.'[3] They denied 'that this order . . . . was agreed upon to be practised before the establishment of it by her Majesty and the Parliament.'[4] In the form they signed approving the 'Discipline' they said, 'We affirme yt to be the same which we *desire to be established*' by prayer and 'by humble suite to her Majestie, her honorable Counsell, and the Parliament, and by all other lawfull and convenient meanes to further and advance.'[5] This form seemed strictly legal, and yet in its last clause, as was quickly pointed out by the Bishops, agreed to sanction anything whatever, legal or not. Likewise they promised to be guided by the 'Book of Discipline' so far as the 'lawes of the land' and 'peace of the Church' would allow (p. 92); and this they carried out in the letter at least. 'Whereas,' deposed Prowdloe, 'I did sometimes meet in conference with some few neighbour ministers, it was voluntary and free, not by any band of subscription or promise, and besides that, our meetings were not according to the Book of Discipline. Concerning other things, I know not what they be,

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 262, March 1, 1591.
[2] Neal, *Puritans*, v. 296. [3] Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 283.
[4] *Id.* p. 284. [5] See *infra*, p. 92, cf. 7.

unless they were particularly set down.'[1] The lawyers for the Crown declared finally that nothing illegal had been proved against the ministers arrested.[2]

If, however, it is clear that the 'Book of Discipline' never was technically, literally, *in toto* or in part put in operation, it is equally certain that a system was exercised, which to all intents and purposes was the same, and in which things were *compassed* which 'legally' were never *conceived.*

The proof of this assertion lies in the two documents printed in the text of this volume. Matters were not 'decided' and 'resolved,' but 'discussed and referred for further consideration' (pp. 63, 70, etc.); ministers were 'allowed' (pp. 47, 49); elders or the equivalent were 'appointed' or 'approved' (p. 15); the minister exercised without appeal a power over his parish in all disciplinary matters, except as he chose to bring them before the Classis (pp. 39, 50). All people who did not join freely were forced either to join or leave the town (pp. 47, 50, 55). Catechisms, liturgies, manuals of prayer, and 'orders' for the management of the town were drawn up and enforced (pp. 28, 53, 99 and Bibliography). No 'advice' was asked from other classes or synods, and no 'appeals' made; but letters were written privately by some member of the Classis to the other classes or to the synod 'to learn their opinion.' No one model was followed by all the classes, but each took pains to find out privately the others' method of procedure (pp. 13, 31, 48, 61, 65). Questions of discipline of all sorts, concerning both clergy and laity, were discussed and voted upon, but not 'ordered' and never 'decreed.'

They attempted to conform as far as possible to the regulations of the Bishops of the Established Church, 'for safe standing,' as they phrased it (pp. 52, 54). Indeed, most of these men were, contrary to the accepted idea, quite willing to conform occasionally (pp. 39, 42), and even to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 87. See also *infra*, p. 86. [2] Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 84.

(pp. 38, 39). This care was what saved them when they were discovered. The Government knew they were guilty of every charge, but was unable to prove them guilty of anything for which they could be convicted. After the arrests of 1590 and the trials in the Star Chamber in 1592, the whole movement was tacitly abandoned by all concerned, and its former supporters either accepted the Established Church or in a few cases became Separatists.

The movement had been entirely a clerical movement—for an association of ministers to form a government of the Church. The laity was not consulted. Indeed, none of its supporters supposed for an instant that the laity could be otherwise than glad to accept it. The movement is chiefly distinguishable from later Presbyterianism in that it was a movement inside the Church to stay in it, or at most to modify its government. The later movement was an attempt to supplant the Established Church by a systematic Presbyterian government. There was, moreover, no connection between the two movements; there was even no continuity reaching from one to the other, from the 'Presbyterians' of Elizabeth to the 'Presbyterians' of the Civil War.

Furthermore, in this early movement the Congregationalists united with the Presbyterians—that is to say, there was at that time no difference between the two, or at most only a very incipient one. It was in 1585–6, however, when there came a sharp discussion over the details of Church government, that Brown, Harrison, Wright, Greenwood, and others whom the Congregationalists regard as their prototypes, separated from the movement and set up the classical principle, *without any attempt at a central government or association*, realising that it was impossible to have one in England. Afterwards in Holland and New England there were never members enough to require any association, and the system crystallised as it was. The classical system was, however, that which has been since known as Congregationalism. Wright and Snape were elected by their congregations, refusing to

consider their callings by the Classis as sufficient.[1] Sandes's summary of the points propounded by Cartwright and Travers includes the election of the minister by the congregation. Browne's Classis at Bury and Carew's at Hatfield Peverel are not distinguishable from the others (pp. 6, 10).

In all the classes the power in each parish rested with the ministers and the influential local members, with only so much outside interference as they asked for, the which was usually very little. Lewis asked the Dedham Classis to sign a paper declaring that each 'pastor should have his own people' (p. 62). Crick also spoke (p. 69) 'in dislike of the people's course in reiecting and receyving their pastors without counsell of others, but the most thought it fitt for him to undertake that charge' (*i.e.* notwithstanding that objection). In reality all Browne and some few others did was to accept the Bishops' ultimatum that the classical system could not be practised within the Church, and to separate from the Established Institution. The 'Congregationalists' carried on the germs of the idea and finally found them a resting-place in New England. The movement had been one for Presbyterianism, but its actual result was Congregationalism.

The movement had been possible, and as far as it succeeded successful, owing to the support of a few of the gentry, such as Lord Rich, owners of many rights of presentation and many advowsons. The majority of the benefices in England were controlled by lay patrons. The particular counties in which the classical movement was strong contained a majority of all the benefices in England.[2] In these counties the power of the lay patrons was overwhelmingly strong. In Norfolk out of 864 parishes lay patrons controlled 688, and in Suffolk 471 out of 554.[3] These benefices controlled by lay patrons were for the most part in the hands of a few men. Egerton in 1596 appointed to benefices 93 ministers, 166

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 11; *Annals*, iii. pt. i. 178.
[2] Stowe MSS. 570, f. 91. [3] Tanner MSS. 178, f. 45.

in 1597, and 143 in 1598, &c.[1] Lord Rich and his supporters controlled even longer lists than this, though their exact figure is not known. While these figures and details do not, perhaps, *explain* this movement, they go far to show how it came to exist *in the Church*. It is reasonably clear that in only a few cases the ministers had support and approval from their parishioners.[2] Without the aid of a few of the gentry, the movement would never have gone beyond a controversy on paper. This it is that gives to Elizabethan Puritanism an idea of strength which it is probable it never possessed. The real Puritanism, which made the Civil War and New England, was the product of deeper causes, though it was not without a certain continuity and connection with this Elizabethan phase. The number of ministers engaged in the movement could not have been many. At the most radical computation they could not be a thousand, and we have record of only a scant few hundred. That the movement possessed any deep roots is therefore improbable, and the more so because of the completeness and rapidity with which it disappeared after 1592. Nor could the men, with a very few exceptions, be called learned or of a vigorous mentality. In fact, the rank and file impress one as of a distinctly inferior grade.

The reasons for the failure are not far to seek. First its basis made success impossible. An attempt to construct a system legally within one alien to it was doomed either to instant or to eventual failure, because the bonds of union had to be so loose as to evade the law, and therefore not close enough to maintain their sanction longer than the individual might please. Hence no real uniformity of creed, service, or discipline was possible, and without those no system could long survive in the sixteenth century. Next, the men concerned found themselves unable to agree as to what they ought to do, or as to what or whom

[1] Tanner MSS. 179.

[2] *Infra*, pp. 46, 55; also an article by the present editor in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1904, 'The People and the Puritan Movement.'

they were willing to obey. Each man insisted upon retaining his individual judgment as to the legality, desirability, and divine sanction for anything he might be called upon to perform. This gave the movement a complete lack of solidarity, and combined with the indefiniteness of its 'constitution' made success impossible.

Finally what were the results of the movement? There is here space but to mention them. First, the men who went from this movement into the Church exercised a moderating influence which was one of the causes contributing to the formation of the Low Church. Secondly, those who separated from the Church founded Congregationalism and incidentally New England. Lastly, the forms of Church government, the free discussion, the election of pastors, had, as Professor Borgeaud has so well shown, an important effect on the development of the political theories which blossomed forth in the English Commonwealth.

THE CLASSES AND THEIR MEMBERS

How many classes there were it is difficult to state, though beyond doubt there were more than those of which we have definite record. Snape declared about 1588 (p. 16) 'that there were three or foure small classes of ministers in euery shire, where there were any learned preachers.' The indictment against him stated that the classes had met 'in Northamptonshier, in Essex, Suffolke, Norfolke, Warwickshier, Devonshier, Cornwall etc.'[1] Cartwright's indictment declared that he had caused classes to meet in 'Warwick, Northampton, Rutland, Oxford, Leicester, Cambridge, Norfolke, Suffolke, Essex, and others.'[2] There were also classes in Hertford, Kent, Surrey, and probably in Sussex, Berkshire, Worcestershire, and Lincolnshire, though there is not one scrap of evidence at hand to prove that the movement extended to these last, except the vague and general statements by those who possessed an interest, either as supporters or as prosecutors, to show that the movement had been very extensive.

Out of the considerable number of men whom we are for some reason justified in treating as participants of the movement there are only a comparative few whom we are able definitely to place as members of some one classis.

Wandesworth, 1572. Field, Smith of Micham, Crane, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson, Thomas Leser, Thomas Wilcox.[3]

London. Field, Wilcox, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Seinctloe, Crane, Edmonds, Charke, Travers, Barber, Gardiner, Cheston, Crooke, Egerton, Baxter, Holmes (?), George Johnson, Henry Smith.

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 11. [2] Fuller, Bk. ix. sect. vii. 201.
[3] Bancroft, *Survey of the Pretended Discipline*, 1583, p. 54.

Northampton. Snape, Penry, Sibthorpe, Edwardes, Littleton, Bradshaw, Larke, Fleshware, Spicer, Settle, John Johnson, Paget, Atkins, Flood, and perhaps Hawger, Cawdry, Lee.

Daventry. Rogers, King, Barebon, Smart, Sharpe, Prowdloe, Ellistón, Walker, Wiggins (?).

Kettring. Stone, Williamson, Fawsbrook, Patinson, Massey, Rishbrook, Atkinson, Davies, Okes.

Dedham. Chapman, Crick, Farrar, Tay, Dowe, Andrewes, Lewis, Stoughton, Lowe, Morse, Tye, Parker, Sandes, Newman, Tylney, Negus, Catelyn, Salmon, Gale, Bird.

Hertford. Dyke, Pigge.

Braintree. Culverwell, Gifford, Rogers, Wright, Tuke, Hawdon, Huckle, Knevett, Tunstall, Whiting, and perhaps Cocke, Dente, Chadwick.

Oxford. Gellibrand, West, Browne, Dod, Wake, Reynolds.

Cambridge. Alvey, Chaderton, Barker, Brightman, Greenham, Harrison, Perkins, Ward.

Kent. Nichols, parson of Eastwel, Elvyn, parson of Westwell.[1]

Warwick. Cartwright, Fenn, Wight, Oxenbridge, Lord, Nutter, Cleuely, Fetherstone, Mathew Hulme, Paine, Sparke, Lloyd, and perhaps Fenner, and Sommerscales.

Surrey. Richman, Udall.

Suffolk. Knewstubbs, Allen.

Hatfield, Essex. Carr.

Bury St. Edmonds. By Robert Brown.

London. Barrow and Greenwood.[2]

[1] See Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 277, for some account of these men, and which shows that the entry in the Synod of Coventry (*Annals*, iii. pt. ii. 478) gives the 'Estwel.' and 'Westwel.' as abbreviations of 'Estwellæ,' not meaning, as might be supposed, that there was a man named Estwel or Westwel.

[2] These two I have included, though, for that part of their history which we know best, they were separated from the other movement, of which, however, they were probably a part in its earlier stages.

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[1] Most of these are accounts hostile to the Puritans, but they are none the less valuable.

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[1] Many of the ordinary secondary books on the Puritans are little more than accounts of their petitions and grievances.

362, 496; 'Annals,' iii. pt. i. 264, 268, 321, iii. pt. ii. 278, iv. 129. Davids, 'Nonconformity in Essex,' pp. 78, 81–82, 83. Dexter, 'Congregationalism,' Biblio., Nos. 106, 111, 112, 118, 181, 187, 201, 207.

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A LIST OF PURITAN MINISTERS CONCERNED IN THE CLASSICAL MOVEMENT

Allen, ——. Signed the 'Discipline,' 1585–6. (Neal, 'Puritans,' i. 471.) [1]

Allison, Richard. An Essex minister. (*See* Davids, p. 78.)

Alvey, Henry. Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge. (Strype, 'Whitgift,' ii. 91, iii. 271.)

Andrewes, Bartholomew. A member of the Dedham Classis. Beyond the details of the 'Minute Book' we know nothing of him.

Axton (*or* Ackton, *or* Arton), of the Oxford party. *See* p. 8.

Barbar, Thomas, of Middlesex. A pensioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1560; B.A. 1563; B.D. 1576; he now favoured Cartwright, and was a preacher at St. Mary-le-Bow, in London, four times a week; he was examined before the High Commission, 1584, and was suspended; he signed the 'Book of Discipline;' and was one of those examined in the Star Chamber, 1591, against Cartwright. Cooper, 'Athenæ Cant.' ii. 236.

Barker, Edmund. Parson of Prittlewell, in Essex, instituted 1569 by the Lord Rich; he was in trouble with the Bishop, 1584. Davids, p. 116.

Baxter, Nathaniel. Magdalen College, Oxford, 1569; M.A. 1577; vicar of Redbourne, Herts, 1577; of Finedon, Northamptonshire, 1578; of Leire, co. Leicester, 1582; of St. Margaret Lothbury, London, 1588; rector of St. Giles in the Fields, 1590; warden of St. Mary's College, Youghal, Ireland, 1592–8; vicar of Micheltry, co. Monmouth, 1602–1611. Foster, p. 89.

[1] The biographical details here given are taken almost exclusively from Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, Newcourt's *Repertorium*, and Davids's *Nonconformity in Essex*. To save space only one authority has been given. In Cooper, and usually in Foster, the reader will find a detailed list of citations from all the ordinary sources regarding the man mentioned, which may be trusted to be exhaustive. *See also* Coleman's *Memorials of the Independent Churches in Northamptonshire*, C. Babington's *Materials for a History of Cockfield, Suffolk*, and John Le Neve's *Fasti Anglicani*.

Beamont, Stephen. Parson of Easthorp, Essex; admitted, 1579; threatened with deprivation, 1584; resigned before November 1609. Davids, p. 110.

Bird, William. A member of the Dedham Classis. We have no personal details concerning him. He lived at Boxford.

Bishop, John. An Essex minister. *See* Davids, p. 78.

Blackwell, Nicholas. An Essex minister. Davids, p. 78.

Bonham, ——. A member of the London meeting, 1572. *See* p. 5.

Bradshaw, ——. Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471.

Brightman, Thomas. Born at Nottingham, 1562; B.A. Queens' College, Cambridge, 1580; Fellow, 1584; B.D. 1591; in Cambridge till 1591; later a celebrated preacher. Cooper, ii. 458.

Browne, ——. A member of the Oxford Classis. *See* p. 10.

Carew, Thomas. Vicar of Hatfield Peverel; educated in either Broadgates Hall or Exeter College, Oxford; much troubled by the Bishop in 1584; leader of a presbytery at Hatfield. Davids, p. 118.

Carr, Roger. Parson of Raine, Essex; admitted 1572; suspended 1584 for not wearing the surplice. Died before 1611. Davids, p. 111.

Cartwright, Thomas (1535 1603), to whom 'must clearly be assigned the chiefest place in bringing Puritanism in England to the dignity of a developed system (Dexter, 'Congregationalism,' p. 55), had a long College experience at Cambridge as scholar and Fellow, 1547-1565. In 1569 he became Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. Deprived of that for preaching against the Established Church, he retired to Geneva, and finally, in 1582, became the pastor of the English congregation at Antwerp. In 1585 he returned to England, and became Master of Leicester's Hospital at Warwick, with the consent of the Archbishop and Burleigh. He failed to keep his promise to remain passive, and in 1590–1592 he was in prison as the chief instigator of the movement for Presbyterian government of the Church. Beyond the above details, which have been long and well known, there is very little of importance accessible. From the Bancroft tract here reprinted, and the letters at the end of the 'Minute Book,' a good many deductions of value become possible, but before being treated as ascertained they need to be filled out with other evidence. *See the* 'D. N. B.' and Strype's 'Whitgift,' *passim*. His life is still to be written, though probably there will be no change in the estimate possible from Strype and the Bancroft tract.

Catlyn, Ranulfshe. A member of the Dedham Classis. No personal details are known. He was not prominent even in the Classis. He was vicar of Wenham.

Cawdry, Robert, of Luffenham, Rutlandshire. He was suspended by the Bishop, in 1587, for detracting from the Book of Common Prayer, out of

which grew an important and a very famous lawsuit. He had been and was active in all the events described by Bancroft. *See* Strype, 'Aylmer,' chap. viii., and 'Annals,' iii. pt. i. 262.

Chaderton, Laurence. He was the son of a wealthy Roman Catholic, and became a Protestant in 1566. He was a Fellow of his college, Christ's College, Cambridge, 1568–1576; preacher at St. Clement's, Cambridge, for fifty years; B.D. 1578; Master of Emmanuel College, 1584; member of the Hampton Court Conference, 1604; one of the translators of the Authorised Version, 1607–1611; D.D. 1613. He resigned the mastership of his college in 1622. *See the* 'D. N. B.'

Chadwick, ——. Vicar of Danbury, in Essex; also in trouble, 1584. *See* Davids, p. 121.

Chake, ——. The same as Charke.

Chaplein, Thomas. Vicar of Hempsted, in Essex; in trouble, 1584. Davids, p. 121.

Chapman, Edmund. A sizar of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, November 1554; B.A. from Trinity College, 1559; Fellow and M.A. 1562; B.D. 1569; incorporated at Oxford July 7, 1578; D.D. July 10, 1578. In 1569 he became a canon of Norwich, and is reported to have entered the choir of the cathedral with some of the other prebendaries in September 1570, and to have 'broke down the organ, with other outrages.' In 1572 he became a preacher in the town of Bedford, and was suspended by the Bishop of Lincoln for his objectionable sermons. In 1576 he was deprived of his canonry for nonconformity. Instituted at Dedham in 1577, he was suspended by Aylmer, but was soon restored. In 1582 he probably was the chief organiser of the Dedham Classis, and remained throughout its virtual head and director. He was in close communication with Cartwright and other leaders, and some of his letters (*see* p. 81) are very remarkable for their good sense and moderation. His influence was always thrown in the Classis on the less extreme side, but he was equally ready to insist quietly that the members should not make peace with the bishop except their nonconformity were allowed. He married a sister of William Cardinal, of Great Bromley, who left him at death a considerable landed property. He was probably not personally molested in the events of 1590–1592, and lived on peaceably into the reign of James. Two of his letters to John Rainolds, 'ut se erigat contra haereticos,' dated from Dedham in 1601, are in MSS. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, vol. 303, f. 200. *See* Foster, i. 261, and Davids, p. 123.

Charke, William. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge; expelled, 1572, for nonconformity; he wrote against Campion, the Jesuit, 1580, and disputed with him in the Tower; he was preacher to Lincoln's Inn, 1581–1593. (*See* Strype, 'Whitgift,' i. 88.)

Cleuely, Hercules. A minister concerned in most of the matters recounted in Bancroft, for he was one of the chief who turned State's evidence, but it is difficult to find out what was his personal part, probably because he stipulated that it should be concealed.

Cocke, William. Pastor of St. Giles, Colchester; threatened with deprivation, 1584; died 1619. Davids, p. 114.

Colpotts, Nicholas. An Essex minister. Davids, p. 78.

Cornewall, ——. Minister of Marks Tey; suspended for not subscribing, 1584. Davids, p. 109.

Cotesford, Samuel. An Essex minister. *See* Davids, p. 78.

Crane, Nicholas, of Roehampton, in Surrey. He was perhaps of Christ's College, Cambridge. He was silenced for nonconformity; was in prison, 1569; belonged in 1572 to the Meeting at Wandesworth, and to some other movements connected with this same general matter. He was imprisoned in Newgate for his nonconformity, it is said, and died there, 1588. Cooper, ii. 39.

Crick, Richard. A demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1562–1564; Fellow, 1564–1571; B.A. 1566; M.A. 1570; B.D. July 10, 1578; and D.D. two days later. He was also Greek lecturer, and chaplain to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich. In 1573 he preached at St. Paul's Cross, praising Cartwright, then deprived for his views. He was deprived, and narrowly escaped arrest by the High Commission (fall, 1575); he signed a petition with other displaced ministers September 25, 1576, and finally presented his submission to the Bishop with the rest August 21, 1578. Some time before 1583 he was restored, but was again deprived for refusing to sign the Three Articles. After Chapman he was the chief man in the Dedham Classis, and on occasion led the radical side against the calmer views of Chapman. He possessed a good deal of learning, but is not to be ranked intellectually with the latter.

Crooke, Thomas. A sizar of Trinity College, Cambridge, May, 1560; Scholar 1562; B.A. 1562–1563; B.D. 1573; rector of Great Waldingfield, in Suffolk, and preacher in Gray's Inn; made D.D. 1578: one of those named to confer with Papists, 1582. Cooper, ii. 434.

Culverwell, Ezekiel, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, rector of Felsted, Essex, and a member of the Braintree Classis. He was deprived of his benefice at some time before 1590, but was admitted rector of Great Stambridge, and was deprived of that before March 1609. He wrote several books.

Davies, ——. A member of the Northamptonshire Classis.

Dente, Arthur, of Christ's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1576; M.A. 1579 rector of South Shoebury, in Essex, presented by Lord Rich; troubled

by Aylmer, 1584, for omission of ceremonies; signed various petitions; married a sister of Culverwell. Cooper, ii. 469.

Dikes, William. Preacher of Coggeshall; deprived 1584 for non-subscription. His patroness was Lady Bacon, the wife of the late Lord Keeper and mother of Francis Bacon. Strype, 'Aylmer,' pp. 104, 202, for much detail.

Dod, John, of Cheshire. B.A. 1578, of Jesus College, Cambridge; Fellow 1585; rector of Hanwell, Oxfordshire, 1585; vicar of S. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, 1597; minister of Coggeshall, 1609, &c.; died 1645. Foster, p. 409.

Dowe, Richard. A member of the Dedham Classis, living at Stratford, Essex. He had been suspended by Bishop Freke in the fall of 1575 (Neal, i. 280), and signed a petition with Crick and some others for restoration the year following.

Edmunds, Robert. Rector of Fifield, Essex, 1560–1562; and of East Mersea, 1586–1602. (Newcourt, ii. 262, 414.) He also signed a petition to the Privy Council in 1584. (Davids, p. 78.) One Edmons—no first name given—was a member of the meeting of London in 1572.

Edwardes, ——. Rector of Cortenhall; one of those implicated in 1590.

Egerton, Stephen. M.A. Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1579; a leader of the meeting at London, 1572; suspended for refusal to subscribe, 1584; imprisoned, 1590; minister of S. Anne's, Blackfriars, 1598–*circa* 1621; introduced a petition in the Lower House of Convocation, 1604, for a reformed Prayer Book. ('D. N. B.')

Elston, John. Beneficed in Northamptonshire. Foster, p. 459.

Farmer, ——. Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471. Strype, 'Whitgift,' ii. 13.

Farrar, Thomas (*also* Farrur). Otherwise called Oxford, or Oxforth, was of Benet College, Cambridge. He was ordained by Grindal, January 14, 1559. He was presented to Langham by the Queen, January 29, 1572, and held it until his resignation some time before September 1607. Davids quotes a MS. register thus: 'Being in trouble by reason of not wearing the surplice, he procured a letter for ease of his trouble to the Bishop of London, and carried the said letter to him at Fulham, 14 Nov. 1586. . . . The Bishop said "that except the said Mr. Farrar and all others that stood in that case would yield and become reformable, in good faith, he and the rest of the bishops would deprive them shortly, within a quarter of a yeare. . . . He counted it no better than rebellion, and added, further, that in those things that are in their own nature indifferent . . . if the Prince have once commanded them

. . . then not to do them was sin, yea more, saith he, that is deadly sin." ' Farrar yielded. Davids, p. 110; Brooks, 'Puritans,' iii. 510. But *see* Newcourt, ii. 80.

FENN, HUMPHREY (d. 1634). B.A. Queens' College, Cambridge, 1573; M.A. Peterhouse, 1576; vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, 1578–1584; refused to subscribe, 1584, and was suspended; restored 1585, but again suspended 1590; cited before the Star Chamber 1591, and was released 1592. *See the* 'D. N. B.'

FENNER, DUDLEY. A commoner at Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1575; and later minister at Cranbrook, in Kent. He became dissatisfied with the English Church and moved to Antwerp, where, renouncing his former ordination, he became one of the preachers to the congregation of which Cartwright was the chief minister. On his return to England, probably about 1585, he was much troubled because of his nonconformity. He died 1589. Cooper, ii. 72.

FENNOR. *See* FENNER.

FETHERSTONE, LEONARD.

FIELD (FEILDE), JOHN. One of the chief administrators and leaders of this movement, the head of the London Classis, one of the compilers of the Admonitions to Parliament of 1571, and a very active and prominent man. About him, however, we have very little definite information. He was probably educated at Oxford, but we do not know where. He perhaps led the Wandesworth meeting, but was not the beneficed minister there, and was in prison in November 1572, when the Classis was formed. In 1571 he wrote the Admonition to Parliament, and was imprisoned for it. This made him famous among that sect, and he was prominent the next year in London (*see* p. 6). The parishioners of St. Mary Aldermary then elected him lecturer, but after four years he was inhibited by Aylmer, despite the petitions of his parishioners. On March 4, 1584, he was suspended from preaching as a penalty for holding illegal assemblies. He died in March 1587–1588, and was buried at St. Giles, Cripplegate. This is practically all that we *know* about a man who bulks large in the history of this movement. (*See the* 'D. N. B.' Supplement, vol. ii.)

FLESHURNE, WILLIAM, B.D. Rector of Abington in 1588; 1607 made vicar of Moulton till his death, 1627. (Coleman, 'Independent Churches in Northamptonshire,' p. 5.)

FLESHWARE, WILLIAM. *See* FLESHURNE.

FLETCHER. *See* FLESHURNE.

GAITON, JOHN. A minister of Norwich and of Bury St. Edmunds. Strype, 'Annals,' ii. pt. i. 27.

Gale, Arthur. A member of the Dedham Classis, but scarcely mentioned in the 'Minute Book;' the schoolmaster of Dedham.

Gardiner, John. Corpus Christi, Cambridge, 1579; minister of Malden, in Essex, silenced for nonconformity, 1586; signed the 'Book of Discipline;' imprisoned in Newgate, 1586. Cooper, ii. 10.

Gelibrand. *See* Gellibrand.

Gellibrand, Edward, of Kent. Matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1571; B.A. 1573; Fellow, 1573–1588; M.A. 1577; B.D. 1584; became, probably after 1590, minister of the English Church at Middlebrough, Holland, where he died 1601. Foster, ii. 556. He was the head of the Classis movement in Oxford, and one of the general leaders always consulted when any matters of great importance arose.

Gifford, George (*or* Giffard). Was a member of Hart Hall, Oxford; vicar of All Saints with St. Peter's, Maldon, 1582; suspended January 18, 1584; the head of the Braintree Classis in Essex till about 1590; leader of a 'presbytery' in Essex as late as 1597; he died 1620. He published many books, chiefly devotional. He was prominent throughout all this Classical movement, though, as in nearly every other case, it is impossible to say what part he played beyond being present at the meetings.

Gillibrand. *See* Gellibrand.

Greenham, Richard. Sizar of Pembroke College, 1559; B.A. 1563; Fellow 1567; joined Cartwright and then apparently deserted him; became rector of Dry Drayton, Cambridge; 1588 or 1589 he moved to London; he died in 1592. Cooper, ii. 143.

Guisin, ——. One of Cartwright's early supporters. (Heylin, 'Aerius Redivivus,' Bk. vii. sect. 23.)

Harrison, Thomas (1555–1631). B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge, 1576; then a Fellow of Trinity; attended the Cambridge meetings of the Classes; noted Hebraist and one of the Translators of the Authorised Version; 1611–1631, vice-prefect of Trinity College. *See the* 'D. N. B.'

Hart, ——. One of the early members of Cartwright's party. (Heylin, 'Aerius Redivivus,' Bk. vii. sect. 23.)

Hawdon, Ralph. Minister of Fryan, Essex; 'presented by his patron for not subscribing,' and suspended by the Bishop, 1584. Davids, p. 119.

Hawkden. *See* Hawdon.

Hen, ——, of Oxford. Early supporter of Cartwright. (Heylin.)

Hildersham, ——. Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471.

Hockill, John. *See* Huckle.

Holmes, Richard. One who turned State's evidence, 1592.

Howell, ——, of Paglesham, Essex. Troubled by the Bishop, 1584 Davids, p. 121.

Huckle, John, B.A. 1573. Pastor of Aythorp Roding, in Essex; suspended 1583, charged with attending night conventicles; signed the petition to Parliament, 1587. Cooper, ii. 23. He had 'for divers years past been complained of in his archdeacon's and commissary's courts . . . . but an indifferent scholar.' Strype, 'Aylmer,' 71. *See also* p. 94.

Hulme, Mathew. A witness against Cartwright, &c., in 1592.

Jackson, ——. Of the London Classis, 1572.

Jewel, Melanchthon. One of those imprisoned with Cartwright in 1590.

Johnson, George. Son of John Johnson, Pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1580; B.A. 1584; M.A. 1588; then a schoolmaster in St. Nicholas Lane, London, in a house used as a conventicle by the Separatists. He was committed to the Fleet in 1593 as a Brownist. Later found at Amsterdam. Cooper, ii. 435.

Johnson, John. Minister of Northampton, not a collegian.

Josselin, Geoffrey. Rector of Shallow Bowels, Essex, 1581; resigned 1585, probably by compulsion. Davids, p. 79.

King, Ralph. Instituted vicar of Bromley Parva, Essex, 1579. Davids, p. 97.

Kinge, ——. (Perhaps Andrew King, of London. Foster, p. 851.) He was parson of Coleworth. Cf. Neal, i. 314.

Knevett, Thomas. Parson of Milend, Colchester; 'suspended for preaching in his own charge without a licence,' 1584. Davids, p. 111.

Knewstubbs, John (1544-1624). Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1567; M.A. 1568; B.D. 1576; preached against the sect called the Family of Love; a member of the Classis movement, rector of Cockfield, Suffolk, one of the Puritan speakers at the Hampton Court Conference. He wrote a great many sermons and much controversial literature. He was perhaps the chief Puritan in the Eastern Counties. *See the* 'D. N. B.'

Knight, ——. Vicar of Hempsted, Essex. Davids, p. 122.

Knyvett. *See* Knevett.

Larke, ——. Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471. Minister of Willingborough, Northampton (Strype, 'Whitgift,' ii. 6).

Lee, ——. Minister of Kilsby, Northamptonshire, where he nominated elders in 1588. (*See* p. 144, Dangerous Positions. Original Tract.)

Lewes, Robert (*or* Lewis). A native of Colchester, Essex; Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; in prison at Newgate ('State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth,' cl. f. 74), November 1581; suspended 1584, but restored. A member of the Dedham Classis. He seems to have died before May 1589. Davids, p. 113.

Littleton, Humphrey (*or* Litleton), of Christ Church, Oxford. B.A. 1579–1580; M.A. 1582; vicar of Hales Owen, co. Worcester, 1582. One of the active members of the Classis movement, and one who turned State's evidence in 1590. Foster, p. 920.

Lorde, Edward, of Magdalen College, Oxford. Fellow, 1575–1586; B.A. 1577; M.A. 1581; vicar of Woolston, co. Warwick; in the Fleet, 1591; and later master of the hospital at Warwick. Foster, p. 938.

Lorkin, Thomas. Parson of Little Waltham, suspended 1584; voided the rectory before 1585. Davids, p. 120.

Lowe, Thomas. A member of the Dedham Classis, living, though probably not beneficed, at Colchester. He was one of the original members of the Dedham Classis, but dropped out within a year or so.

Maiburne, ——. Vicar of Much Wakering, Essex. Davids, p. 121.

Massie (*or* Massey), ——. Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471.

Milayn, ——. A supporter of the 'Discipline.' Strype, 'Whitgift,' vol. i. p. 98.

Moncke, Robert. Rector of Woodham Ferrers, 1560; parson of Wakes Colne, 1565; died before December 1601. Newcourt, ii. 191, 682.

Morley, Esechias, of Walsham in the Willows, Suffolk. Troubled by the Bishop 1582–1584; died in 1607. Davids, p. 122.

Morse, Anthony (*or* Morsse). One of the Dedham Classis, not a minister nor beneficed, but was 'allowed' by the Classis. He was placed at Drew Druries house, one of the influential gentry, and later at Belsted.

Negus, William. Of Trinity College, Cambridge; was first at Ipswich as town preacher. 'A difference was made between Dr. Norton and Mr. Negus, preachers of this town, which spread in the Great Court into parties, and some foul words were spoken, whereupon orders were made; yet in the confusion of the Court all these things were dashed out, and an order made that a committee should confer with both the said minister and conclude for the departure or continuance of them, or either of them.' Dr. Norton was defeated. (Wodderspoon, 'Annals of Ipswich,' p. 370. Ipswich, 1850.) Negus, however, soon left Ipswich to accept the presentation of Lord Rich to Leigh (or Lee), March 31, 1585. He now fell into difficulties with the Bishop because he refused to conform, though his parishioners urged him so to do. His own account of his interview with the Bishop runs as follows:—'Being convented before the Bishop at Witham, and then being demanded whether I had worne the surplice since my coming to Leigh, my answer was, that as I had not (worne) it, so I had never refused it, for there was none offered, nor any in the parish to be worne. He further asked me if I would weare it if it were provided. My answer was, I desired his favor that I might proceed in my ministry

until such time as there was a surplice made, and that he knew I refused to weare it. He, not satisfied with this answer . . . concluded thus: "Seeing that you will not promise to weare it, we will suspend you till you will"' (Davids, p. 116, from MSS.) He was later restored, making his submission. *See also the* 'D. N. B.'

Newman, Laurence, M.A. Instituted to Coggeshall, Essex, February 10, 1575. He was one of the Dedham Classis till his death in March 1589. Like the rest he was suspended by the Bishop for not subscribing. Davids, p. 107. *But see* Newcourt, ii. 160.

Nichols, ——. He signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471.

Northey, George. Of a numerous Colchester family; member of Clare Hall, Cambridge; town lecturer of Colchester 1580; deprived in 1583, and had much difficulty in recovering his liberty. He died 1593. Davids, p. 106.

Nutter, Anthony. A minister concerned in this movement, but, being one of the witnesses of the State in 1592, his part is not known. *See* p. 18, and Strype, 'Whitgift,' ii. and iii.

Oar, Roger. *Same as* Roger Carr.

Okes, ——. One of the Northampton Classis. *See* p. 15.

Oxenbridge, John. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1550; M.A. 1556; B.D. 1572; rector of Llaynis, Wales, 1560, and of Southam, co. Warwick, 1572. Foster, p. 1103.

Paget, Eusebius (*or* Pagit). Student of Christ Church, Oxford; rector of Lamport, 1572–1574, and of Kilkhampton, of which he was deprived for nonconformity, 1585. His famous letter (Strype, 'Whitgift,' iii. 285) probably needs to be qualified before being accepted as the truth. He was later rector of St. Anne and St. Agnes in London, 1604–1617. *See the* 'D. N. B.'

Paine, John. Minister of Tollesburie; deprived 1584, and one of those in trouble 1590. Strype, 'Whitgift,' i. 504, ii. 13, iii. 245.

Parker, Richard. B.A. from University College, Oxford, 30 January, 1569–1570; perhaps vicar of Hulcote, Bedfordshire, 1578; vicar of Dedham, Essex, 1582, being instituted June 30, 1582. He wrote the 'Minute Book' which is here reprinted from notes taken at the time, though not till 1604. He was the secretary of the Classis, and associated with Chapman in the government of the town of Dedham. His character appears from his letters (*see* p. 83) to have been rather radical and hot-headed, yet a little cautious. He was suspended, or threatened with suspension, by the Bishop in 1584–1585, and later, when Cartwright was arrested in 1590, Parker was summoned to London and examined in regard to the Dedham Classis, on which he probably

told all he knew. (*See* p. 16.) He resigned the vicarage of Dedham in 1590, October 15 probably, by compulsion. Whether he was again beneficed is doubtful, for in 1604 he was in Kettringham, one of the centres of the Northamptonshire Classis Movement, and it is hardly likely that he was there by permission of the Church, yet he resided there a month beyond doubt. He had, perhaps, some one of the secret lectureships, or was in some private gentleman's family.

Pattinson, Thomas. Sizar of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1565; Fellow of Christ's and M.A. 1572; B.D. 1579; vicar of Caldecot, co. Cambridge; archdeacon of Colchester 1604; died 1607. Foster, p. 1126.

Payne, Robert. Of Lincoln College, Oxford; B.A. 1586; M.A. 1589; rector of Stockerston, co. Leicester, 1593. Foster, p. 1129.

Penry, John. A Welshman and writer of many very radical tracts against the Bishops, and commonly believed to have been the author of the Marprelate Tracts. He is too well known to need further notice here. *See* 'D. N. B.' and Strype, 'Whitgift,' ii. iii.

Perkins, William. Born in Warwickshire; B.A. 1580; Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1582. He attracted attention as a preacher; he was in difficulty for his opinions on the Sacrament 1586–1587 with the heads of the colleges. In 1590 he was before the High Commission. He died 1602, having published forty sermons and treatises. Cooper, ii. 335.

Pigge, Oliver. Minister at Drew Druries house.

Pigot, ——. Minister of Tiltie, Essex. Davids, p. 121.

Prowdloe, William (*or* Prowdlow). Minister of Weeden.

Redrich, Thomas. Parson of Hutton, Essex. Davids, p. 121.

Reynolds, John (*or* Rainolds, as the 'D. N. B.') (1549–1607). Fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford, 1566–1586, where he was famous as a Greek reader on Aristotle; B.A. 1568; Dean of Lincoln College, Oxford, 1593–1598; President of Corpus Christi, 1598–1607; prominent at the Hampton Court Conference and in the translation of the Prophets of the Authorised Version. The part he played in the Classical movement is very difficult to determine, though there can be little doubt that it was important, though, because of his official position, probably by advice and indirect aid rather than by direct participation.

Rogers, Richard. Son of a steward of the Earl of Warwick's. Educated at Cambridge, he was lecturer at Wethersfield, Essex, for forty-six years. In 1584 he was suspended, but restored through the influence of Sir Robert Wroth. He died 1618. Davids, p. 108.

Rushbrook (*or* Rishbrook). Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471.

Rusticus, Camillus. Pastor of Fange (Vang?), Essex; suspended by the Bishop, 1584; deprived altogether before 1609. Davids, p. 121.

SAINTLOE, ——. A member of the London Meeting.

SALMON, EDMUND. A member of the Dedham Classis, living at Ewerton.

SANDS, HENRY. A member of the Dedham Classis, living at Boxford, and perhaps beneficed there.

SEARLE, ROBERT. Pastor of Lexden, Essex; admitted 1567, and just escaped deprivation in 1584. Davids, p. 113.

SEREDGE, WILLIAM. Parson of East Hanningfield; instituted August 1566; suspended 1584; died before August 1600. Davids, p. 121.

SETTLE, ——. A minister of Northamptonshire; not to be confounded with Thomas Settle, a Puritan in prison 1586–1593. Cooper, ii. 402.

SEYNTCLERE, ——. Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471.

SHARPE, ——. Minister at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire. *See* p. 20. Not Edward Sharpe. Foster, p. 1338.

SIBTHORP, ——.

SMART, ——.

SMITH, EDWARD. B.A. 1572; M.A. 1576; Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; B.D. 1583. Cooper, ii. 148.

SMITH, HENRY. Lecturer in 1587 at St. Clement Danes, without Temple Bar, and a friend of Richard Greenham's. Strype, 'Aylmer,' p. 100.

SMITH, ——. Of Mitcham.

SNAPE, EDMUND (1576–1608). A Northampton minister, who occupied a prominent position in the Classical Movement; M.A. of Merton College, Oxford, 1584; was one of the chief prisoners before the High Commission, 1592. *See the* 'D. N. B.,' and almost *passim* in this book.

SOMMERSCALES, ——. *See* p. 19. A Northamptonshire minister.

SPARKE, ROBERT (1540–1590). Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1560; B.A. 1561; rector of Aston Flamville-with-Burbach, in the county of Leicester; B.D. 1585. He died 1590. Cooper, ii. 100.

SPARROW, ——. *See* Neal, i. 314.

SPICER, JOHN. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1563; B.A. 1566; M.A. 1569: rector of Cogenhoe, Northamptonshire, 1572. Foster, p. 1399.

STANDEN, NICHOLAS. Rector of St. Margaret Pattens, London; deprived for nonconformity, 1568; chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, 1569; a member of the Wandesworth meeting; accustomed to preach, 1573, at Overston, Northamptonshire, without a licence from the Bishop of Peterborough; long imprisoned for nonconformity. Cooper, ii. 12.

STOCTON, ——. (*See* Index.)

STONE, THOMAS. Student of Christ Church, Oxford; M.A. 1575; proctor 1580; rector, 1571, in Northamptonshire, at Warkstone. Foster, p. 1428.

STOUGHTON, THOMAS. A member of the Dedham Classis, who succeeded to the living of Coggeshall on the death of Newman, December 12, 1600. (*See*, however, Davids, p. 107.)

Tay, William. A member of the Dedham Classis, beneficed at Peldon, perhaps, or assistant vicar there. *See* Newcourt, ii. 467. Later he moved to Layer.

Tilney, John. A member of the Dedham Classis, living at Barfold, though probably not beneficed.

Travers, Walter (1548?–1635). Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1569; M.A. Christ's College, Cambridge, 1569; visited Geneva and became a close friend of Beza's; published in 1574 the first draft of his 'Discipline' in Latin; declined to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles in England, and left England, going to Antwerp, where he was reordained by Cartwright. Then, returning to England, he became a chaplain to Burghley and tutor to Robert Cecil, later the first Earl of Salisbury and principal minister to James I. In 1581 he became a lecturer at the Temple, London, where a little later took place his famous disputation with Hooker. In 1595–1598 he was provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He was even more than Cartwright the intellectual head of this movement, drafting nearly all the important papers, while Cartwright occupied rather the position of administrative head for putting his plans into operation. *See* 'D. N. B.'; Strype, 'Whitgift,' i. 448, 474; and the Preface to Hooker's 'Works.'

Tuke, George, of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. B.A. 1580; beneficed in Essex. Cooper, ii. 24.

Tunstall, William. Vicar of Great Totham, admitted 1583; deprived before August 1587. Davids, p. 118.

Turnstall. *See* Tunstall.

Tye, Thomas. A member of the Dedham Classis. *See* p. 87.

Udall, John (1560–1592). M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge, 1584; incumbent of Kingston-on-Thames before 1584; prosecuted as hostile to episcopacy, 1586; conferred with John Penry, 1587; preacher at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1588; imprisoned for complicity in the Marprelate Tracts, January 1590; sentenced to death, 1591; pardoned, 1592, but died soon after, though not in prison, as usually stated. *See the* 'D. N. B.,' &c.

Upcher, Thomas. Rector of Fordham, 1561; of St. Leonard's, Colchester, till May 1582, when he resigned. Davids, p. 78.

Vicars, Robert.

Wake, ——. Of Oxford, a follower of Cartwright. Strype, 'Whitgift,' i. 108, iii. 32.

Walker, ——.

Ward, John. Sizar of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1579; B.A. 1581; M.A. 1586; minister of Haverhill, in Suffolk, and then of Writtle, near Chelmsford, in Essex; suspended by Aylmer in 1584. Cooper, ii. 310.

Warkton, ——. Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471.

West, Richard. Of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1557–61; Fellow, 1561–72; rector of Woking, 1571, and West Horsley, Surrey, 1582. Oxford Classis. Foster, 1600.

Whitaker, ——. Signed the 'Discipline.' Neal, i. 471.

Whiting, Giles. B.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1573; rector of Panfield, Essex, 1582; deprived, 1587. Cooper, ii. 354.

Wiersdale, Mark. An Essex minister. Davids, p. 78.

Wight, Daniel. Minister of the county of Warwick; of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford; B.A. from St. John's College, 1582. Foster, 1627.

Wilcox, Thomas (1549–1608). Educated at Oxford; minister of Honey Lane, London, deprived 1583, and considered by Aylmer as the backbone of the Puritan opposition to the Bishops. (Strype, 'Aylmer,' p. 36). He was a man of real importance and power, the head (with Field) of the London Classis. *See the* 'D. N. B.,' &c.

Williamson, John. B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge, 1579; M.A. 1583; vicar of Fordham, co. Cambridge, 1587. Foster, 1648.

Wilton, John. An Essex minister. Davids, p. 78.

Wingfield, William. Minister of Wicks, Essex; deprived 1584, but restored again. Davids, p. 125.

Wright, Robert. Tutor to the Earl of Essex; 1581 at Antwerp, and one of Cartwright's assistants; domestic chaplain to Lord Rich at Rochford, and pastor of a church there, formed by his Lordship. Wright was elected pastor by the congregation. John Greenwood (later the Brownist) was his assistant. Strype, 'Annals,' iii. pt. i. 177, iii. pt. ii. 228–237; 'Aylmer,' p. 64.

Wyburne, Percival. B.A. 1551; Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, 1552; abroad during Mary's reign; canon at Norwich, 1560; canon at Westminster, 1561, and also at Rochester, holding them till 1569; suspended by Whitgift, with others of Kent, for refusing subscription. He died in 1606. Cooper, ii. 449.

Besides these men, who were more or less directly connected with the movement, there are certain lists of men more difficult to place, who nevertheless seem to demand recognition.

The members of the 'presbytery' captured in London in 1569:—John Smith, John Roper, Robert Hawkes, James Ireland, William Nyckson, Walter Hynckesman, Thomas Bowland, George Waddy,

William Turner, John Nayshe, James Adderton, William Wight, Thomas Lydford, Richard Langton, Alexander Lacy, John Leonard, Robert Tod, Roger Hawkesworth, Robert Sparrow, Richard King, Christopher Coleman, John Benson, John Bolton, Robert Gates. (Strype, 'Grindal,' p. 201.)

Connected with the difficulties of subscription in 1583, and later, we find lists of names which seem to be those of declared Puritans, who would be found to have some connection with this movement were our evidence only more full.

Norfolk ministers 'not resolved to subscribe Whitgift's Articles :'—Ailand, Nich. ; Aldred, Thom. ; Armstead, James ; Bairdsell, John ; Bernard, John ; Bishop, Edm. ; Bowman, John ; Brow, John ; Burton, Wm., jun. ; Carter, Wm. ; Carter, Nich. ; Cartwright, Hamlet ; Conneye, Rob. ; Cooke, John ; Cowp, Rich. ; Cullye, John ; Elwin, Thom. ; Fary, Rob. ; Fenton, John ; Fenton, Mr. ; Foster, Rich. ; Foster, Wm. ; Garves, Steven ; Gibson, Rich. ; Goodwin, Vincent ; Greene, John ; Greenway, Sam. ; Harrison, John ; Hawley, Thom. ; Howis, Mr. ; Johnes, Thom. ; Kendall, Rob. ; Kennion, Rob. ; Lawger, Thom. ; Lawson, Rich. ; Ledes, George ; Linaker, Rob. ; Mathew, Thom. ; Mawd, Mr. ; Mellis, Thom. ; Moore, John ; Morgan, John ; Nash, Wm. ; Oates, Sam. ; Pervinall, John ; Ranew, Leonard ; Rawlins, John ; Read, Edw. ; Rise, Henry ; Rishton, John ; Roberts, Thom. ; Saunderson, Mr. ; Setle, Thom. ; Sharpe, Edw. ; Smith, John ; Sowter, Thom. ; Spooner, Francis ; Stilon, John ; Stalon, Sam. ; Stevenson, Alex. ; Stevenson, Launcelot ; Waters, John ; Winter, Thom. ; Woods, Rich. (Brown, 'Congregationalism,' p. 604, quoted from MS.)

List of Suffolk ministers 'not resolved to subscribe' to the Three Articles :—Allen, Gualter ; Aulthroppe, John ; Bende, Wm. ; Bentlow, Wm. ; Bonnington, Nich. ; Bownd, Nich. ; Briggs, Martin ; Brown, Nich. ; Browne, Wm. ; Carter, John ; Cooke, Wm. ; Cooke, Peter ; Cooper, John ; Cotsford, Rob. ; Cranshawe, T. ; Crick, Dr. ; Denies, Dan. ; Dow, Rich. ; Eccleston, Nich. ; English, John ; Fairclough, Lawr. ; Fleming, Wm. ; Forth, John ; Fowle, Thom. ; Grandish, R. ; Hagas, Thom. ; Harvey, Wm. ; Hey, Wm. ; Hill, Mr. ; Holden, Wm. ; Holden, Rich. ; Holden, John ; Hollington, Josias ; Jeffraye, Thom. ; Jeffraye, Roger ; Kinge, Rich. ; Knewstubbs, John ; Lovel, Mr. ; More, Thom. ; Nuttell, Roger ; Philipps, Mr. ; Pigge, Mr. ; Pricke,

Rob. ; Rogers, Thos. ; Rows, Anthony ; Rushbrooke, Wm. ; Salmon ; Sandes, Henry ; Smith, John ; Smith, John ; Smith, Mr. ; Smith (?) ; Sutton, Thos. ; Sweete, Rob. ; Tilney, or Tilmen, John ; Turnour, Wm. ; Wallis, Thom. ; Walsh, Mr. ; Warde, John ; Warren, Thos. ; Webb, Geo. ; Whitakers, L. ; Whitakers, Lawr. ; Whitfield, R. (Browne, 'Congregationalism,' quoted from MS., p. 605.)

Ministers of Kent :—'Carslake, of Great Chart ; Nicholas, of Eastwell ; Halden, of Selling ; Brimston, of Horton Monarcharum ; Minge, of Ashford ; Elvin, of Westwell ; Elye, of Tenterden ; Grimston, of Limming, no graduate, lately a tailor ; Fenner, of Cranebrook, no cure nor a graduate ; Knight, of New Rumney, no cure ; Case, of Allington ; Calver, of Egerton, no preacher ; Green, of Hawkhurst ; Gulleford, of Rounden, a schoolmaster without cure ; Mr. Wyborn, Rothoric, Fawcet, Gladwel, these four last of Rochester Diocese ; Mr Evans, of Newington.' (Strype, 'Whitgift,' i. 245.) (Details concerning some of these men are in *id.* p. 277.)

Ministers of Chichester Diocese :—'William Hopkinson, vicar of Salehurst ; Samuel Norden, parson of Hamsey ; Anthony Hobson, vicar of Leominster ; Thomas Underdown, parson of S. Mary's, in Lewes ; John German, vicar of Burienam ; Richard Wheataker, vicar of Ambreley ; John Bingham, preacher of Hodeleigh ; and Thomas Heley, preacher of Warbleton.' (Strype, 'Whitgift,' i. 255.) (There is a copy of a paper signed by several of these last in the Gurney volume of MS. which contains the 'Minute Book,' f. 259, proving that these men had some connection, however vague, with Parker and the Dedham Classis. It will also be noted that among these lists occur various names of men whom we know definitely to have been connected with the Movement. Hence it seems probable that the other names we cannot trace belong to men likewise implicated, but not discovered by the Government.)

Other Suffolk and Norfolk ministers : —'John More, Robert Roberts, Richard Woods, Samuell Oates, John Morgan, Vincent Goodwin, Leonard Rannow, Richard Gibbon, John Burdsell, John Harrison, Richard Foster, John Barnarde, Nicholas Aylande, Edward Sharpe, Thomas Aldred, Samuell Greneway, Robert Lynacre, Tho. Wallis, John Greene, Edward Reade, John Rawlins, Thomas Searlbye.' (Gurney MSS., f. 260 a, signatures to a paper copied by or for Parker. Here again are several names occurring in the previous longer lists.)

Ministers of Leicestershire :—'Doctor Chippendale, Mr. Sparke, Mr. Ireton, Mr. Boothe, Mr. Higgins, Mr. Blyth,' and according to Parker '300 more.' (*Id.* 261 a.)

(On f. 264 is another paper whose signatures include many of those given in the longer list above.)

There are two or three lists of laymen captured by the Government, followers of Barrow and Greenwood, in Waddington ('Congregationalism,' iii. 29, for 1587 ; and in Strype, 'Annals,' iv. 129).

PRESBYTERIAN MOVEMENT

IN THE

REIGN OF ELIZABETH

PRESBYTERIAN MOVEMENT IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

BANCROFT'S 'DANGEROUS POSITIONS'

[1560–1572.] THE sectaries deuided themselues from their ordinary congregations and meeting together in private houses, in woods and fieldes, had and kept there, their disorderly and unlawfull conuenticles. . . .

There had been meetings in London during Mary's reign.[1] There was a meeting in London in December 1558, led (?) by Thomas Parry.[2] June 1567.—'The Order of the Privye Churche in London. Fyrste and formoste, the glorious worde and evangell preached, not in bondage and subjection but freely and purelye. Secondly, to have the Sacraments mynistered purely onely and alltogether according to the institution and good worde of the Lorde Jesus, without any tradicion or invention of man, and Laste of all to have not the fylthye cannon lawe, but disciplyne onelye and altogether agreeable to the same heavenlye and Allmightye worde of our good Lorde, Jesus Chryste.' Richarde Fytz, Minister.[3]

1569, in London, 'the chief teachers were Bonham and Crane; who at these house meetings did use to preach and expound the Scriptures, to baptize, administer the Communion, marry according to the Geneva Book (which they styled the most sincere order,) and withal very vehemently would inveigh against the government and the religious usages of the Church of England. . . .' [4] 1570, a sort of Millenarian party organized at Bansteed, Surrey, by Wright.[5]

[1] Strype, *Grindal*, p. 171. All these insertions in small type are additions by the editor to the original text, so that it may be as complete as possible.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, i. pt. i. 59.

[3] Waddington, *Congregationalism*, ii. 743. From the original MS. at the R. O. *Also see* Strype, *Grindal*, pp. 169, 200.

[4] Strype, *Grindal*, p. 226. Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vi. sect. 36.

1571.—An order set up in the town of Northampton by the Bishop of Peterborough and the mayor and corporation of the town. 'The singing and playing of organs, beforetime accustomed in the quire, is put down, and the common prayer there accustomed to be said, brought down into the body of the church among the people, before whom the same is used according to the Queen's book, with singing psalms before and after the sermon. There is in the chief church every Tuesday and Thursday, from nine of the clock until ten in the morning, read a lecture of the Scripture beginning with the confession in the Book of Common Prayer, and ending with prayer and confession of faith. There is in the same church, every Sunday and holy day, after morning prayer, a sermon, the people singing the psalm before and after. . . . There is on every other Saturday, and now every Saturday from nine to eleven of the clock in the morning, an exercise of the ministers both of town and country, about the interpretation of the Scriptures. The ministers, speaking one after another, do handle some text; and the same openly among the people. That done the ministers do withdraw themselves into a privy place, there to confer among themselves, as well touching doctrine as good life, manners, and other orders meet for them. There is also a weekly assembly every Thursday, after the lecture by the mayor and his brethren, assisted with the preacher, minister, and other gentlemen, appointed to them by the Bishop, for the correction of discord made in the town; as, for notorious blasphemy, whoredom, drunkenness, railing against religion or preachers thereof; scolds, ribalds, and such like, which faults are each Thursday presented unto them in writing by certain sworn men, appointed for that service in each parish. . . . All the ministers of the shire, once every quarter of the year, upon one month's warning given, repair to the said town, and there, after a sermon in the church heard, to withdraw themselves into a place appointed within the said church, and there privately to confer among themselves of their manners and lives.' [1]

Whereupon presently after the sayd Parliament, (viz. 20 of November, 1572,) there was a Presbytery erected at Wandesworth in Surrey, (as it appeareth by a bill endorsed with Master Field's hande thus: the order of Wandesworth). In which order the elders names, eleuen of them, are set downe: the manner of their election is declared: the approuers of them (one Smith of Micham and Crane of Roughampton) are mentioned: their offices and certaine generall rules (then giuen unto them to bee observed) were likewise agreed upon and described.

They said: 'We are not for an unspotted church on earth, and therefore though the Church of England has many faults, we would not willingly leave it.' [2]

[1] Strype, *Annals*, ii. pt. i. 133. See also Dedham, *Orders*, p. 99.

[2] Wandesworth Puritans to the Bishop's chaplain, MS. register, quoted by Waddington, *Congregationalism*, iii. 7.

How they grew to be so farre gone at Wandesworth that I find not.

They of London at that time were nothing so forward, yet . . . they had then their meetings of ministers tearmed brethren in priuate houses in London, as namely of Field, Wilcox, Standen, Iackson, Bonham, Seinctloe, Crane and Edmondes,[1] which meetinges were called conferences, according to the plot in the first and second admonitions mentioned. In these London meetings at the first, little was debated but against subscription, the attyre, and booke of Common prayer. Marry after, (saith he,) (Tho. Edmonds before the Commis.) that Charke, Trauers, Barber, Gardiner, Cheston, and lastly Crooke and Egerton ioyned themselues into that brotherhood, then the handling of the Discipline began to be rife: then many motions were made and conclusions were set down, as for example.

That forasmuch as diuers bookes had beene written, and sundry petitions exhibited to her Majesty, the Parliament, their LLs. and yet to little purpose; therefore euery man should labour by all the meanes he could, to bring into the Church, the said reformation themselues.

That the present government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops was Antichristian: and that the only Discipline and gouernment of Christ (as they termed it) viz. by Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons, should be established in place of the other.

That for the better bringing in of the said forme of discipline, they should not onely (as well publikely as priuately) teach it, but by little and little, as much as possibly they might, draw the same into practice, though they concealed the names either of Presbytery, Elder, or Deacon, making little account of the name for the time so that their offices might be secretly established.[2]

Aug. 5, 1573. Sandys, Bishop of London, to Burghley.—Drs. Crick and Wake have preached at Paul's Cross, 'affirming to be good whatever Mr. Cartwright in writing hath set down.' . . . Further, 'there is a conventicle,

[1] For biographical notes concerning these and other names in this volume consult the alphabetical list in the Introduction.

[2] All depositions taken 1590, except Johnson, to the contrary. See *Whitgift*, iii. 272. But the articles of the Warwick Synod, attested genuine by a MS. copy found by Strype (*see* p. 17) and the 'Minute Book,' prove that it was not only voted but put in operation. *See also* letters, Paine to Lloyd, Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 18.

or rather a conspiracy, breeding in London. Certain men of sundry callings are, as it were in commission together, to procure hands for Mr. Cartwright's book, and promise to stand in defence thereof unto death. . . . The City will never be quiet until these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright and others, be far removed from the City. The people resort unto them, as in Popery they were wont to run on Pilgrimage. . . . There be some Aldermen and some wealthy citizens, which give them great and stout countenances; and perswade what they can that others may do the like. . . . Her Majesty's proclamation took none effect: not one booke brought in. Mr. Cartwright is said to lie hid in London with great resort to him. . . . The French ministers are meddlers in these matters. For Mr. Dering confessed to me, that he conferred with them touching the articles, before he delivered them to the Council: and had their consent. . . .'[1]

Edmund, Bishop of Peterborough, to Burghley. April 13, 1573.—'In the Towne of Overston where Mr. Carleton dwelleth, there is no devyne service uppon most sondayes and hollidaies accordinge to the booke of comon prayer, but insteede thereof, 2 sermons be preached most comenlie by one Mr. Standen, and one Mr. Kinge, men for their opinions not licenced by me to preache at this daie. When thei are determined to receyve the communion theie repaire to Whiston where it is there joye to have manie of divers parishes, principallie owt of Northampton towne and Overston aforesaid with other townes thereabowte theare to receyve the sacramentes with preacher and ministers to their owne likinge and contrarie to forme prescribed by the publique order of the Realme. . . . To their purposes they have drawen divers yonge ministers, to whome it is plaseble to have absolute authority in their parishes; in their waies theie be verie bolde and stowte, like men that seeme not to be withoute greate frendes. Whoso standeth against them theie seeke to molest by som meanes. . . .'[2]

In 1574 there were Dutch and Walloon churches in London, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Norwich, &c., whose example aided this movement greatly. Also there was a kind of presbytery in Jersey and Guernsey.[3]

1576.—There was an attempt, led by Paget and Oxenbridge, to set up a new discipline and new liturgy in the parish churches of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire.[4]

1581.—These courses went on at Bury for some years, the ministers varying from or altering the Common Prayer at their discretion, disliking the order of it and depraving the book . . . and all this in great measure by the favour of some of the justices.[5]

1582. To Field, April 14 (1582 ?).—'That having nothing to do with the prescribed form of Common Prayer, he preached every lord's day in his Congregation, and that he did so by the Counsel of the Reverend Brethren:

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 33.

[2] Lansdowne MSS. 17, f. 55. Original, signed.

[3] Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 8.

[4] Strype, *Grindal*, p. 320. On authority of original official correspondence; he gives no details.

[5] Strype, *Annals*, iii. pt. i. 31.

by whom (such was God's goodness to him) he had been lately called to be one of the Classis, which once a week was held in some place or other.'[1]

There was an assembly of three score ministers appointed out of Essex, Cambridgeshiere and Norfolke, to meete the eighth day of May, 1582 at Cockefield[2] (Maister Knewstubs towne) there to conferre of the common booke what might be tolerated and what necessarily to be refused in euery point of it: apparel, matter, forme, dayes, fastinges, iniunctions etc. Of this meeting it is thus reported: 'Our meeting was appointed to be kept very secretely and to be made knowne to none etc.'[3] That this assembly was also kept accordingly, it appeareth by these wordes. 'Concerning the meeting I hope all things were so proceeded in, as you yourself would like of, as well for reuerence to other brethren as for other matters. I suppose before this time some of the company haue told you by word: for that was permitted unto you.'

Another meeting was also appointed to be helde that yeare at the commencement in Cambridge.

. . . The Rabbies in London . . . hitherto . . . had relied chiefly upon the first admonition and Cartwright's booke . . . generally allowed of amongest them, for the Churche of England. But now at the length (about the yeare 1583) the forme of Discipline (which is lately come to light) was compiled; and thereuppon an assembly or Councell being helde (as I thinke at London or at Cambridge), certain decrees were made concerninge the establishing and practise thereof.[4]

Order is likewise taken for the putting in use of the Synodicall Discipline, which also prooueth the age of that booke. . . . In this conspiracy or councell mentioned (like good and quiet-spirited men) they had an especiall care, that the peace of the Church might not be broken by any order or decree of theirs. . . . Whereby

[1] Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 35.

[2] 'Pig to Field, 16 of May, 1582,' Bancroft's Note.

[3] 'Pig to Field,' Bancroft's Note.

[4] Here follow the decrees, which being long and well known have been omitted. They are printed in Fuller, Bk. ix. sect. 5; Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, Bk. vii. sect. 33, a little changed; and Neal, *Puritans*, i. 278, dated wrongly 1576. Begins, 'Let no man though he be an university man;' ends, 'at some certain time every year.'

it seemeth to me that . . . they resolued they might proceede thus farre, and keepe (notwithstanding) the peace of the Church of England Established. . . . For otherwise, how could any sober men so much as once haue imagined that they might in this sort ouerthrowe (in effect) the present gouernment and establish their owne deuises, and yet neuer breake the peace of the Church.

It would seeme that these wise Law makers were presently after as carefull to put the sayde orders in practise as they were before to resolue upon them; as it may appeare by a letter, written to Master Field from Antwerpe, the 25 of Iune, 1583 by one Cholmeley in answere of a former letter, sent unto him from the said Field. . . . 'I am glad with all my heart for the better successe of your affaires, not onely in that I heare of your assemblies, but most willingly of all in respect of your effectuall practising of the Ecclesiasticall Discipline. I will tell you that which is true, you have begun this course too, too late. Whosoeuer shall now, either refuse to begin or shall desist from so notable an enterprise he shall beare his owne sin. You ought to repent you of your former slowness.'

In Iuly the next yeare, vz. 1584, some of the Scottish ministers afore spoken of, went to the Act in Oxford. . . .[1] 'Here haue beene a good company of godly brethren this Act. Maister Fen, Wilcox, Axton: the Scottish ministers and wee, haue had some meeting and conference, to our great comfort that are here. One point (which then was moued) I would wish to be thoroughly debated among you and them, concerning the proceeding of the minister in his duety, without the assistance or tarrying for the Magistrate etc.' . . . Let the sayd Maister Gelibrand's words in a Letter to Field dated the 12 of Ianuary after, vz. 1584, bee considered. For (as it seemeth to me) they either tend to sedition or to the admitting in Oxford of the foresayd Decrees or Discipline. . . . 'I haue already entered into the matters whereof you write, and dealt with three or foure of seuerall Colleges, concerning those among whom they liue. I finde that men are very dangerous in this point generally fauoring reformation: but when it commeth to the particular point, some haue not yet considered of these things, for which others in the Church are so much troubled: others are afraid to testifie anything with their hands, least it breed danger before the time. And after, many fauour the cause of reformation,

[1] 'Gelibrand to Field,' Bancroft's Note.

but they are not ministers, but young students, of whome there is good hope, if it be not cut off by violent dealing before the time. As I heare you, so I meane to goe forward where there is any hope, and to learn the number and to certifie you thereof.' . . .

There was a nationall Synode helde likewise in London [1584.] by these brethren,[1] according to their former decisions and Synodicall Discipline. This appeareth by three letters. The first was from eleuen ministers of Essex to Field (Jan. 26. 1584/5) wherein they desire to 'be certified whether the brethren meant to be exercised, in prayer and fasting and upon what day.' The seconde was from nine of the saide ministers to Fielde and Charke (2 Feb. 1584/5) wherein they writ thus: 'We haue elected two Godly and faithfull brethren, Maister Wright and Maister Gifford to ioyne with you in that businesse.'[2] The third was from Gelibrand to Field: (29 Nou: 1584.) Wherein he excuseth himselfe of a great ouersight, in these words, 'Touching my departure from that holy assembly without leaue, etc., I craue pardon, both of you and them etc.' . . .

(The Synod referred the 'Book of Discipline' to Travers for correction.—Ed.)

'Concerning our other business, I would wish that the Discipline were read ouer with as much speed as could be; and that some good directions were given for the brethren abroad, who are earnest to enter some good course, for the furtherance of the L: cause.' And after in the same place, 'I finde many abroade,[3] very willing to ioyne with the best: to put in practice that which shall be agreed upon by the brethren. If it might please the brethren therefore, that those or the like instructions (which wee had) with a perfect coppie of the Discipline, might be sent, I would wholly imploy my selfe in that seruice.'[4] Another also upon the longer stay thereof. 'I pray you hasten the forme of the Discipline and send

[1] The names are not given by Bancroft, but they are in Stone's Deposition (Fuller, Bk. ix. sect. 7)—'Travers, Charke, Egerton, Gardener, Barber, Brown, Somerscales, Cartwright, Chatterton, Gyfford, Allen, Edmunds, Gyllybrand, Culverwell, Oxenbridge, Barbon, Fludd, Stone.'

[2] This was probably from the Braintree Classis, showing that they had at least eleven members. See *supra*, p. xxix; but cf. p. 98.

[3] 'Abroad' in the sense of 'in the country.'

[4] 'Field to Travers. 3. Iulie. 1585,' Bancroft's Note.

it.'[1] And the same man againe. 'I pray you remember the forme of Discipline which Master Travers promised to make perfect, and send it to me when it is finished. We will put it in practice and trie men's minds therein as we may.'[2]

According to these requests the draught of the Disciplin was at the last finished and then sent abroade to be approued generally by all the brotherhood, as may thus appear. 'The Discipline we haue receiued and we geue you and the brethren hartie thanks for it. As yet we are not resolued in all points of it: hauing had but small time to peruse it, nor the commoditie of often meeting about it. But we haue taken order for our monthly Assembly and after our owne consents yeelded unto it, for associating other into our companie, whom we shall think approued.'[3]

Jan. 11, 1585–6. Aylmer to Burghley.—Mr. Carew, of the parish of Hatfield Peverell, 'contemneth all ecclesiasticall censures, he is elected by the people; he practiceth a presbiterye, defaceth the booke . . . he cannot speake three wordes of lattyn; he hath brought his people to that pointe, that they say even at Baptisme, that it maketh noe matter for the water, so we haue the worde.'[4]

July 25, 1586. Aylmer to Burghley.—At Maldon I found on visitation 'the sower fruites of these newe reformers and especially of such as be mercenarye, reteined to preach in diuers places beside the ordinary ministers. One was by certaine younge heades in the towne (men of occupacon there) to be hired to come into the Church besurered like a foole and to take my Cappe of my heade and to twirle it about his finger, and then to haue cast it, and tossed it to and fro amonge them in the middest of the people, whereupon it is not to be doubted but a daungerous tumulte woulde haue risen.'[5]

At which time (1586) there was another Synode held in London: 'whither (sayth the letter) Maister West and Maister Browne were sent from Oxford: to whom they referred the estate of their Church, to be related: and by whom they desired to understand directions from the Synode, how they might deale afterwardes in those matters.'

[1] 'Gelibrand to Field, Nov. 9, 1585,' Bancroft's Note.

[2] 'Gelibrand to Field, Jan. 30, 1585,' Bancroft's Note.

[3] 'Gelibrand to Field,' 1586, Bancroft's Note.

[4] Lansdowne MSS. 46, f. 132, holograph.

[5] Lansdowne MSS. 50, f. 89, holograph. Maldon was the town where Gifford was the leader.

At this conference they were of the opinion 'that Homilies and Apocrypha were not to be read in the church: that there ought to be no superiority in Church government: that the calling and jurisdiction of L. BB. were unlawful: that the discipline was to be taught modestly upon every good occasion of the text, as a part of the Gospel. But they concluded not these, but only shewed their private opinions. Also, they debated, whether the subscription to the BB. articles were unlawful, and the treatise of Discipline to be agreeable to Gods worde? And by what means the Schism of Papists and Brownists might be stayed: and of supplication to her Majesty, the Council, and BB. for ease of the grievances upon the Ministers, by suspension, deprivation, and imprisonment for ceremonies. Also he saith they met by letter, message, or chaunce, without further calling. Also, he heard that the like meetings were at Oxford and Warwicke, about three or four years past.'[1]

Within a while after, vz. 1587 (as I suppose) there was in like sort an assemblie or Synode helde of the Cambridgeshire brotherhood accompanied peraduenture with some of other shires.[2] About which time also, upon the new edition of the foresayd booke, the further practice of the Discipline mentioned by Cholmeley, 1583, (as is before shewed) began to spread itselfe more freely into the most parts of the Realme, but especially . . . amongest the ministers of Northamptonshire as it appeareth by some of their owne depositions, 16 of May 1590 in these wordes following.

About two yeares and a halfe since, the whole shire was deuided into three classes.[3] 1. The Classis of Northamptonshire, consisting of these ministers, Maister Snape, Maister Penrie, Maister Sibthorpe, Maister Edwards, Maister Lyttleton, Maister Bradshaw, Maister Larke, Maister Fleshware, Maister Spicer, etc., 2. The Classis of Dauentrie side, consisting of these: Maister Barebon, Maister Rogers, Maister King, Maister Smart, Maister Sharpe, Maister Prowdloe, Maister Elliston, etc. 3. The Classis of Ketteringside: consisting of these: Maister Stone, Maister Williamson, Maister Fawsbrooke, Maister Patinson, Maister Massey, etc.[4]

[1] Barbar's Deposition, 1590. Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 274. Omitted by Bancroft because they add nothing to the proof.

[2] According to Stone's Deposition, 'Chatterton and others of Cambridge, Cartwright, Gyfford, Allen, Snape, Fludde, Stone' (Fuller, Bk. ix. sect. 7).

[3] 'M. Johnson. So in effect. M. Littleton, M. Sharpe,' Bancroft's Note.

[4] For these names, as for all others, see Introduction.

This deuise (saith Maister Johnson)[1] is commonly receiued in most parts of England, (as I haue heard in sundrie of our meetings,) but especially in Warwickshire, Suffolke, Norfolke, Essex, etc.

The maner of euery perticlar Classis is this,[2] At their meeting (which is alwaies in some private house; but yet in their mother cities) furst a moderator is chosen, in this sort: one of them conceiveth a praier, for Gods direction in that choyse.

Then he, that conceiueth the praier sitteth alone in scrutonie: and euery one giueth his voice secretlie under him. He that hath most voyces is chosen.

The moderator thus chosen, conceiueth another praier: that God wold blesse him in the course of his office. Then being set at the tables end, with his brethren by him, the names of all the brethren are called. If any were absent at their first sitting downe, he sitteth after in order as he commethe for auoiding of superioritie.

The authoritie of the moderator endureth untill the next meeting of that Classis. At the breaking up of euery Classis, there is euer some certaine time appointed, when they shall meete againe, which is sometime within a fortnight, but commonly three weeks at the furthest. If anything do fall out in the meane time fit to be consulted upon: the moderator may call the Classis together sooner according to an order made amongst themselves.

It is a generall order that when any is admitted into a classis: he doth promise under his hand that he will submit himselfe and be obedient to all such orders and decrees, as shall be sett downe by the same Classis to be observed.[3]

As for example, these were part of the particular articles, whereunto euerie one of Northampton Classis did subscribe, at his entring or admittance into it: we doo promise to submit ourselues unto such orders and decrees as shall be set downe by our Classis: we do promise to submit ourselues to be censured by our brethren of this Classis, in all matters concerning doctrine, discipline, etc.

In this Classis it was furthermore concluded and agreed upon

[1] 'M. Snape reporteth as much, as Edward Smith, Ri: Hawgar, et. Ri: Holm haue deposed,' Bancroft's Note.

[2] 'M. Snape and M. Littleton doe likewise herin agree with M. Johnson.' Confirmed by the 'Minute Book.'

[3] 'M. Litleton deposeth as much,' Bancroft's Note. See also the agreement of the Dedham Classis, p. 25.

that when any controuersie did arise, touching any matters of doctrine or about the interpretation of any place of Scriptures: euerie one of that Classis should alwaies yeeld therein unto that interpretation and resolution, which the brethren of that Classis should determine of. And also when any questions did rise amongest them of greater difficultie. . . .

Besides those particular Classes, there is another kind of meeting which is termed the Assembly. And it consisteth (for example) in Northamptonshire of the number of six: that is, two of euery Classis, which are sent thither by election. The ordinarie place of this assembly in Northamptonshire was at Northampton: where Snape commonly was one and a chiefe man, Barbon and King were the men that usually came from Dauentry side, and Stone and Williamson from Kettring side. At the meeting of the sixe there is alwaies a moderator first chosen, in manner and forme as in the Classis—; and so likewise for their further order of proceeding. The moderator continueth his authoritie ouer all the three Classes, untill the like meeting happen again: which is neuer certain, But yet commonly within six or eight weeks upon occasion signified from the Classes unto this moderator. For unto him belongeth the calling of the Assembly.

The matters which are here handled, are those of great moment, such as concerne the state of the Church generally. As for example the writing of letters to the brethren at Oxford, Cambridge and London: to certifie them of their proceedings and to know what course is held amongst them in those places for the Discipline and gouernment, which they tearme Reformation [1] to the intent that the particular Classes upon their aduertisements, may direct themselues and their Churches accordingly.

It is likewise alwaies concluded at such times which of the sixe assembled shal penne the letters. And in this choise, Snape was commonly the man.

The men to whom they usuallie did write were one in Cambridge,[2] Trauers in London, and Gelibrand in Oxford. When any answeres were returned from those places: they were commonly directed to Snape, or to him that had written to them in the name of the brethren.

[1] 'The like M. Sharpe of Dauentry Classis,' Bancroft's Note.

[2] Probably Chatterton.

Two especiall points (I remember)[1] were concluded in this assemblie: the one was, for a suruay of all the Churches in Northamptonshire. The end propounded of this suruay was, vz. that if upon signification to the brethren abroad what was done there: they would likewise make the like suruey in other countries, the Parliament . . . might have a generall viewe of all the ministers in England that impugned their desires. The second point before mentioned was this: a conclusion to send up to London, one or two of euerie Classis in Northamptonshire, with letters of credite to attend at the Parliament, to ioine themselues with the brethren of other countries: and to offer disputation (if it should be thoughte meete) and to undertake any other such matter, as should then and there be determined of amongst them: and that there should be letters written, of this resolution to know how the brethren abroad liked it:[2] or what other course they would hold at that time, for the Bringing in of Discipline and Church gouernment. These two points were penned by Snape: and sent to the brethren abroad as it was ordered. . . .

Whereupon the Classes of Northamptonshire did send up some three or fower, as Settle for Northampton, Rogers for Dauentry etc. with a further conclusion that if any of them (upon occasion should be committed, others should be sent up in their places. . . .

Yet this examinate[3] thinketh, some thing was done in the first, viz. as he hath heard, a suruay was made to the purpose before touched, of the ministers in Northfolke, Suffolke and Essex.[4] And for the second, true it was that many were sent to attend at the Parliament from the most parts of England, and one resolution was, that some twenty or thirty of them, should haue come in their gownes, with all grauitie, to the Parliament house dore; and there haue desired by petition a disputation.

Furthermore concerning some censures used, there was a generall consent and purpose, amongst the brethren, touching a secret kinde of excommunication, for example's sake. A lay man

[1] 'M. Sharpe to the same purpose of Dauentrie Classis,' Bancroft's Note. Confirmed by 'Minute Book,' p. 36. See Deposition in Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 275.

[2] 'Abroad' in the sense (as before) of 'in the country.' or in other parts of England.

[3] Johnson.

[4] Probably the long MSS. printed by Davids was this survey for Essex. To it we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the Essex ministers. Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 88.

committeth some sinne. One of the Elders was to admonish him. The partie is obstinate. The Elder must take two or three with him the second time. And if this serue not, then he is to be debarred from the communion. In this case, if the said party shuld, (notwithstanding) intrude himselfe to communicate, then it was agreed to repell him, uppon pretence of certaine words in the communion booke.[1] So as thereby they might keep their owne course for their Discipline and yet haue a cloake to couer them withall out of the booke. . . .

And as touching that point mentioned, of the brethren's submitting of themselves by subscription, to be censured in the Classis: it was thus used in the Northampton Classis. The brethren being together in a chamber, the partie to be first censured (as they were all to be in course) goeth forth out of the chamber. Then the moderator asketh euery mans opinion of him how he behaueth himselfe aswell in his life as in his ministrie: and euerie man, having spoken his opinion, the partie is called in: and then if he were not any way touched, he is greatly commended: if otherwise, then reprooued as the causes require. For example Edwards of Corntnall comming under this censure was blamed for using the Crosse in Baptisme: and at his comming in againe, was wonderfull sharpely dealt withall for the same.[2]

Thus farre Maister Johnson of the Northampton Classis. With whom doe also agree in the principal points: Maister Littleton, as touching the same classis, Maister Sharpe and Maister Walker, preachers and persons, deposed, concerning the Classis of Dauentry side: and Maister Stone, (a preacher likewise) upon his oth, for that of Kettring side. One or two points I may not omitte, which Maister Stone hath deliuered. He confesseth that at diuers times, Maister Snape, Maister Barbon, Maister Sharpe, Maister Prowdloe, Maister King, Maister Johnson, Maister Sibthorpe, Maister Spicer, Maister Baxter, Maister Littleton, Maister Williamson, Maister Bradshaw, Maister Fleshware, Maister Harrison and hee, haue meete in Northampton and likewise at Kettring, and at his house, the most of them, with some others, as Maister Rishbrooke, Maister Atkinson, Maister Dauyes, Maister Massye, Maister Okes, etc. about matters of discipline. And he saith further, that in an

[1] Put into effect at Dedham, pp. 50, 56, *infra*.

[2] Compare the case of Huckle and others in the 'Charge against Snape,' Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 12, and *infra*, p. 73.

assembly had, either at his house or at Kettring, it was propounded, treated and concluded that the Apocrypha writings were not to be read in the Church. And in another assembly, which of them he doth not remember, he affirmeth likewise, that it was debated and concluded upon, that the superiority of the Bishops of this land, ouer the rest of the ministers is not warranted by the word of God.

To these depositions concerning the Northampton Classes I might adde the depositions of one Maister Parker, Vicar of Dedham in Essex, for the proofe of the Classes in that shire: as of one about Brayntree side consisting of these ministers, Maister Culverwell, Maister Rogers, Maister Gifford, etc.[1] another about Colchester, consisting of these ministers Doctor Chapman, Doctor Cricke, Maister Dowe, Maister Farrar, Maister Newman, Maister Tey, etc.[2] and so likewise the depositions of others. . . .

I will onely set downe one mans witnesse more agreeing with Maister Johnson for the proofe that the like Classes are or haue been held in most shires in England and so referring you to iudge of them all by that of Northampton, I will goe forward. About two yeares since, Maister Snape did say and affirme in the presence of Edward Smith, Robert Vicars, Edward Birde, Richard Holmes and himselfe, that there were three or foure small classes of ministers in euery shire, where there were any learned Preachers,[3] who did use (in their meetings) to debate of the Discipline, by Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, and that the said seuerall small Classes did send their resolutions and opinions to the greater Assemblies at Cambridge at Sturbridge fayre time, and at London at Bartholomew Fayre time, which did meete together also for the same purpose: and that if the said great assembly did like of that which was done by the smaller Classes, then was the same (so liked of) generally concluded to be that which ought to be or stand in the Church. (as for example.) That it was concluded and agreed upon both in the said Classical and generall assemblies, that the dumbe ministerie was no ministerie, or else no lawful ministerie: and that the ministers in their seuerall charges, should all teach one kind of Doctrine, (tending to the erecting of the foresaid government,) by Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, which

[1] See letters and papers from or by these ministers, *infra*, pp. 94, 98.

[2] This is the Classis whose record we have in the 'Minute Book.'

[3] See p. xxviii for a collection of such statements.

pointes (sayth Holmes of himselfe in another examination) were concluded in the synode at Sturbridge Fayre last viz. 1588. . . .

'Orders made at a SYNOD of PURITANS, Sept. 8, 1587.'—1. De scribendis et subscribendis literis, etc.[1] These being very long and already in print, have not been reprinted. But the Editor wishes to call attention to their very great importance. The same may be said of the articles which follow, though given by Bancroft.

The which questions were afterward sent by their direction to the Warwickshire Classes or brethren assembled in those parts. . . . The next yeare after vz. 1588, the saide Warwickshire Classes etc. assembling themselves together in councel (as it seemth at Couentry) the questions mentioned were determined upon. . . . These were some of their resolutions.[2] That Priuate Baptisme is unlawfull. That it is not lawfull to reade homilies in the Church. That the signe of the cross is not to be used in Baptism. That the faithfull ought not to communicate with unlearned ministers, though they may be present at their seruice, if they come of purpose to heare a sermon. The reason is, because lay men as well as ministers, may read publicke seruice. That the calling of Bishops etc. is unlawfull. That as they deale in causes ecclesiasticall, there is no duety belonging unto them, nor any, publickly to be giuen them. . . . That it is not lawfull to rest in the Bishops depriuation of any from the ministrie, except (upon consultation with the neighbour ministers adioyning, and his flocke) it seeme so good unto them: but that he continue in the same untill he be compelled to the contrary by ciuill force. That it is not lawfull to appeare in a Bishops Court, but with protestation of their unlawfulnes. That Bishops are not to be acknowledged either for Doctors, Elders or Deacons as hauing no ordinary calling.

That touching the restauration of their Ecclesiasticall Discipline it ought to be taught to the people, data occasione, as occasion should serue. That nondum (as yet) the people are not to be solicited publicè (publickly) to the practise of the Discipline: donec (till) they be better instructed in the knowledge of it. That

[1] Strype, *Annals*, iii. pt. ii. 477-479, in Latin. Not given by Bancroft.

[2] These are given in Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 555, from an original copy from Wright's study, dated '1588 die decimo 4ti,' *i.e.* 10 June, 1588. Also in Fuller, Bk. ix. sect. vii. 194. Cleuely and Cartwright declared that these were not 'resolved,' but 'merely discussed.'—*Whitgift*, iii. 254-5, 275.

men of better understanding are to be allured priuately to the present imbracing of the Discipline and practice of it, as far as they shall be well able, with the peace of the Church. . . .

There was in the same Assembly a great approbation obtained of the foresaid booke of Discipline, as to be a draught of Discipline essentiall and necessarie for all times, and certaine articles . . . were then brought forward, treated of and subscribed unto [1] (as Maister Nutter and Maister Cleuely, two that were then present haue deposed) by Maister Cartwright, Maister Fenne, Maister Wight,[2] who promised to guide themselves by the saide Discipline and according to it, as it is set downe in the said articles . . . Diuers others did subscribe at the same time . . . Howbeit the matter is otherwise plaine inough who they were by a note taken with Maister Litleton, vz. John Oxenbridge, Edward Gellibrand, Hercules Cleuely, Anthony Nutter, Leonard Fetherstone, Mathew Hulme, Edward Lord, etc.[3]

This book . . . was carried farre and neere, for a generall ratification of all the brethren. It was offered to the Dauentry side Classis, as Maister Sharpe and Maister Walker haue deposed: and likewise at Northampton by Penry, as Maister Littleton affirmeth.[4] But that which Maister Johnson hath set downe is worthy the remembrance. The effect of it is this, 'that when the booke of Discipline came to Northampton to be subscribed unto: there was a generall censuring used amongest the brethren there, as it were to sanctifie themselues, partly by sustaining a kind of penance, and reproofe for their former conformity to the orders of the Church, established by her Maiestie and other matters of conuersation: and partly to prepare their minds for the devout accepting of the foresaid booke. In which course of censuring

[1] This form is (*infra*, p. 92) that signed by the Dedham Classis, being identical with the one given by Bancroft (tract, p. 110) as the one signed generally. See other forms in Neal, v. 292, and Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 502.

[2] See *ibid.* iii. 276. Also by their own confession Edward Lord and Andrew King, *ibid.* iii. 247.

[3] Neal gives (i. 471) a very long list of those who signed the Book, and states that the signatures numbered in all five hundred, of which he only gives a part. This, with some misgivings, I have accepted in making up my count of the ministers connected with the movement.

[4] The Government probably had the original documents signed. See Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 239. Confirmed by the 'Minute Book.'

used at that time, there was such ripping up, one of anothers life, euen from their youth, as that they come unto great bitterness, with many reuiling tearmes amongst themselues, one growing thereby odious to another, and some did thereupon utterly forsake those kinde of assemblies. . . .

In the yeare 1589 there was another Synode or generall meeting helde in Saint Johns Colledge in Cambridge. Where (saith M. Barker) they did correct, alter, and amend diuers imperfections conteined in the booke, called Disciplina ecclesiae sacra verba Dei descripta. . . .[1] The persons that meet in this Assembly were (as these last two deponents[2] affirme) Maister Cartwright, Maister Snape, Maister Allen, Maister Gifford, Maister Perkins, Maister Stone, Maister Barber, Maister Harrison with others etc.

I find mention also of another Synode 1589, held (as I take it) at Ipswich. . . . 'For the space of about foure yeares past (saith Maister Barber), and since the last Parliament (saith Maister Stone), there haue bin seuerall meetings in London at the houses of Maister Gardiner, Maister Egerton, Maister Trauers, and Maister Barber. The persons that usually mette in these assemblies (saith Maister Barber) were Maister Cartwright, Maister Charke, Maister Trauers, Maister Egerton, Maister Gardiner, Maister Oxenbridge, Maister Gelibrand, Maister Culuerwell, Maister Browne of Oxford, Maister Allen, Maister Gifford, Maister Sommerscales, and himselfe. Maister Cartwright, Maister Trauers, and Maister Egerton were at sundry times chosen Moderators or Presidents in the said Assemblies. . . . These more generall meetings or Synodes last mentioned were of highest authoritie. . . . As doubts did arise, thither they were sent to be resolued. The Classical and Synodicall decrees in other places, were neuer authentical indeede (as it seemeth) till there they were ratified. The chiefest directions for all the brethren elsewhere were sent from thence.[3] . . . In the yeare 1590 . . . diuers such ministers were sent for (by the High Commission) . . . but in the place when they shuld be examined they refused to answere upon their othes . . . (till) they

[1] Perkins also so deposed, *Whitgift*, iii. 275. When questioned by the Government, the Head and Fellows of St. John's denied any such 'Presbytery,' *ibid.* ii. 56-8.

[2] Johnson and Barker.

[3] This was stringently and flatly denied by all concerned. But there can be little doubt that there was much referring of matters to each other, called, however, the 'taking of opinions,' the 'asking their advice.'

would see the Interrogatories. . . . Wherupon the Interrogatories themselues were shewed unto some, as namely to Maister Snape. . . . But the issue was accordingly as it was expected: For hauing perused, he was further of then he was before: and writ to his friends what was the summe of them. . . . His letters were intercepted wherein he writeth after this sort.

'Reuerend and beloued. This day Aprill the 7, I haue beene againe before the Commissioners. After much adoo, I obtained to see and peruse the Articles against mee (but briefly and in their presence onely). They are many 36, 37, besides those under mine owne hand, and very large, some twelue, some twenty lines long, consisting of many branches. As far as I could (for the time) conceaue and remember, they may be referred to these two heads: some concerninge myselfe together with others and some touching myself alone. The former sort are touching Classes and Synodes, wherein are mentioned particular places, (London, Oxford, Cambridge) times, (act, Commencement, Sturbridge fayre, Tearme) persons, Cartwright, Perkins, Trauers, Charke, Egerton, Barbon, Stone, Snape, Knewstub, Allin, Dike, and diuers others etc. and some things dealt in and agreed upon etc. By all which, besides many other thinges specified, it is most euident, that they haue manifest and certaine knowledge, not onely of generals, but also of specials and particulars.' . . .

'Touching the conferences those of our Country are yet more particularly discouered: persons: (besides those there named) Kinge of Coleworth, Prowdloe of Weeden, Spicer of Cogenho, Edwardes of Cortenhall, etc. Places: Sharpes howse at Fawsley, Snapes chamber at Northampton. . . . I would iudge Iohn Johnson to haue beene the man. . . . They will not, they cannot be longer concealed. Now whether it were better and more safe, that one man with the consent of the rest should boldly, freely and wisely confesse and lay open etc. or that some weake (or wicked) man shoulde without consent and in euill sort acknowledge . . . Iudge you: the thing they ayme at is, A Conuenticle. It must come to tryall. . . . It were good you sent to T. C.[1] with speede.' . . .[2]

About a weeke or a fortnight before Cartwright was committed (Sept. 1590)[3] . . . there was a Synode or meeting helde at Maister

[1] Thomas Cartwright, a very ordinary way of reference to him.

[2] Snape to Barbon, 'Aprill 11, 1590,' 'and to Stone,' Bancroft's Note.

[3] 'Stone Dep. in Star Chamber,' Bancroft's Note.

Gardiners, by these brethren, Maister Cartwright, Maister Charke, Maister Trauerse, Maister Egerton, Maister Gardiner, Maister Barbon, Maister Barber, Maister Oxenbridge, Maister Gelibrand, Maister Culuerwell, myselfe and certaine other ministers: and they did then and there debate and consider amongst themselues whether it were fit or conuenient that the said Maister Cartwright (after his commitment to prison) should discouer or reueale, all or any the matters which passed in conference and disputation in any of their former assemblies or not. . . .[1]

[1] The decision is not given. The tract goes on at some length to give an account of Cartwright's trial, and many arguments to show that the denials of those examined that they had not done what was charged were but subterfuge or playing with words.

MINUTE BOOK

OF

THE DEDHAM CLASSIS

1582–1589

MINUTE BOOK OF THE DEDHAM CLASSIS

1582–1589

A Note of Such Thinges as are agreed upon to be obserued in our meetinges.[1]

There was a conference had by some of the godly brethren the xxijth of October 1582 as a preparation to a meetinge purposed by them, and to be concluded and agreed upon by the rest who shuld after be chosen, as fitte persons for such an Assembly.

The order[2] wherof was this:

flirst yt was agreed on in that first conference that there shuld be a day of meetinge wherin some portion of scripture shuld be handled briefly by the speaker, that shuld be appointed by the consente of the rest. the place of scripture there chosen to be contynued in, is the second Epistle of St. P. to the Thessal: the tyme to be spente therin, and in prayer to be one howre: the rest of the tyme to be employed in decidinge some profitable questions, if any were propounded by the brethren, or els in conference

[1] This first paper is the original document, with the autograph signatures appended at the time.

[2] This 'order' is almost literally an order for a 'prophesy,' like those suppressed by the Government in 1577; the only essential difference is that the authority then assigned the moderator is here shared by the assembled ministers. It had been usual at the 'prophesy' to examine the conduct of the various ministers concerned. At the beginning, then, this was no attempt at a presbytery but simply an unauthorised 'prophesy.' Fuller, *Church History*, Bk. ix. sect. iv. 2; Strype, *Grindal*, pp. 260, 441, 566; ibid. *Annals*, iii. pt. i. 477; MSS. Caius College, Camb. 103, f. 17.

aboute other necessary matters, for the furtheringe of the gospell, and preventinge of evill, as farre as we mighte deale in by our callinges.

The persons[1] chosen for the Assembly are these.

Mr D. Chapman.
Mr D. Cricke.
Mr Dowe.
Mr Farrar.
Mr Lewes.
Mr Androwes.
Mr Sandes.
Mr Taye.
Mr Tye.
Mr Lowe.
Mr Anthony Morse.
Mr Stocton.
Mr Parker.

Moreouer that at euery meetinge there be some one of the brethren chosen to be enterpretor of that scripture appointed to be handled, and another to be moderator of the whole action, and he to begȳne and end with prayer.

That none be broughte in as one of this company, without the generall consente of the whole. silence also to be kepte aswell of the meetinge, as of the matters there dealte in, withoute yt be first signified to the reste. the certayne day of meetinge to be the first Monday after the first sunday of euery moneth: and the tyme appointed[2] to be at eighte of the clocke in the morninge and so contynue till eleven or thereaboute.-

And that some of these daies appointed to meete in be spente in prayer and fastinge, and that then admonition be geuen to any of the brethren, ether tutchinge their mynistery, doctryne, or liffe, if any thinge haue bene obserued or be espied by the brethren necessarely requiringe the same. And that there be upon the dayes of prayer and fastinge exercise[3] and enterpretation of the worde by some of the brethren, that shallbe chosen and thoughte meetest for the same.

[1] For biographical data see Introduction, p. xxxv.
[2] 'to come' struck out. [3] 'of' struck out.

That the enterpretor of the place of scripture, after the action done, departe oute from the rest of the brethren, and every man's iudgmente to be asked of his handlinge, of the said scripture, and the moderator to declare unto him, what the brethren iudge of it.[1]

That any of the brethren may propounde any profitable questions to the rest, to be considered of, at that presente (if tyme permitte) or at the nexte meetinge followinge.[2]

Edmund Chapman.	Thomas Stoughton.
Richard Crick.	Thomas Lowe.
Thomas Farrur.	Anthony Morsse.
William Teyz.	Thomas Tye.
Richard Dowe.	Richard Parker.
Bartimus Andrewes.	Henry Sandes.
Roberte Lewis.	

Laur: Newman.	Ranulfshe Catelyn.
John Tylney.	Edmund Salmon.
Wylliam Negus.	Arthur Gale.

The Matters Concluded of in our Meetinges as followeth.[3]

[December 3, 1582, was our first meeting at Barfold.] M[r] D. Cricke Speaker: and M[r] D. Chapman moderator.

[The question tutchinge the right use of the lordes daie then propounded.[4]] left to be considered of till the next meetinge after saue one: 2 was for the placing of M[r] Dowe, whether at Barfold

[1] 'and' struck out.

[2] Here follow the autograph signatures. Those written below the line were admitted at a later date.

[3] The dates and sentences placed as headings before the various meetings are in the manuscript written at the side of the sheet. The parts heavily bracketed are in a different ink and larger characters than the rest.

[4] For some of their arguments on this question *see* pp. 75, 76.

or Stratford; deferred till the next meetinge. 3. Mr Stocton moued whether fornication make affinity: not thought convenient to be decided. Doctor Chapman was chosen to be the next speaker, D. Crick moderator, and the place at D. Chapman's house.

[1582/3.] [Second Meeting. 7 Jaun: at Dedham,] at D. Chapman's house: D. Chapman speaker, and D. Crick moderator.

[It was thoughte best to the brethren for diverse reasons that Mr Dowe shuld accepte of his callinge at Stratforde.[1]]

The 2 question propounded was tutching the Sabboth as before. This also was spoken of that the booke of cōmon praier shuld be considered of how farre[2] a Pastor might read therein: Mr Dow speaker at his own house, Mr Lewes Moderator.

[1582/3.] [Thirde Meetinge 4 Febr. at Stratforde:] Mr Dow Speaker. Mr Lewis Moderator. Mr. Lewis propounded whether the people ought to leaue their pastor when he teacheth to goe to heare others ordenarely. [It was thought meete that the people of euery congregation shuld ioigne with their owne pastors in the use of the word and Sacramentes.

It was also concluded of by the brethren havinge pervsed and allowed the doctrine conteyned in Mr Chapman's little Catechisme, that yt was not inconveniente to be published for the use of the people of Dedham especially:] for Mr. D. Chapman craved at this tyme the brethrens advise tutching the publishing of his Catechisme. The question of the vse of the Sabboth was then debated of but left undetermined till further conference of brethren in other places might be required. Another question was propounded by Mr Dowe whether a man diuorced from his first wief iustly[3] and marying a second shuld retaine the second as his wieff, to be determined the next meetinge.

[1] This and the continual discussion of other matters of discipline makes it clear that, although this 'conference' was legally and perhaps, in the minds of the men concerned, nothing but a 'prophecy,' it really possessed a decidedly different character. Still it cannot be called a 'classis,' and by no means a 'presbytery.' No better illustration could be found of the essentially unconscious growth of the 'presbytery' of 1585 out of the 'prophecy' of 1577 by means of these 'conferences.'

[2] 'a' crossed out.

[3] 'for' crossed out.

[Fourth meetinge. 4 March at Boxted]. Mr Morse, Speaker: [1582/3.] Mr Dowe Moderator. [It was concluded that[1] the worde of god alloweth that a man iustlie diuorced from his first wieff might mary a second, so his proceedinge to the second mariage be orderly and in the lorde.]

This question was propounded how a pastor might deale in the baptising of the children of those wch haue cõmitted filthines before mariage, the handlinge of it was deferred ether till we shall come unto it in the booke of Cõmon prayer, or on some occasion necessarely require the handlinge of it. A motion also was now made for to write to Mr Cartwright to undertake the answeringe of the Rhemish Testamt, but it was deferred.[2] It was also agreed on that the next meetinge shuld be spend in praier and fasting and handling of ye word from 8 to three in the afternoon. the speakers chosen, Mr Androwes, Mr farrar, Mr Sands, Mr Lewis. The place of Scriptures left to their discretions to consider of: the place Barfold at Mr Stoctons. The Moderator Mr Morse.

[Fifth Meeting. 8 April: 1583. Barfold.] [where the time was [1583.] spent in extraordenary praier wth fastinge] as was appointed before and performed by the for named brethren.

[Sixt Meeting. 6 May. Colchester.] [1583.]

[A couple of the brethren] vz Mr Lewis and Mr Dowe [were appointed to deale wth Mr James to staie the playes of Maietree[3] wch they did but could not prevayle.] It was moued whether a day of praier and fasting shuld be appointed at this tyme, it was thought meete the certeyne day shuld be deferred till some occasion were offred. [It was alsoe thoughte[4] inconvenient that Mr Dowe shuld read an ordenary Lecture at Higham[5] any longe tyme.]

It was propounded by Mr Tay whether a man may goe into the courts of the Official being cited by the Somner, yt was agreed to be spoken of the next meetinge and Mr Tay was required to

[1] 'a man' crossed out.

[2] Meeting, Fifth (?), and the letters written are *infra*, pp. 77, 78. *See* notes to the latter.

[3] 'Maytree,' *i.e.* May pole.

[4] 'verie' struck out.

[5] 'for diuerse causes' struck out.

geue in his reasons to some of the brethren to be answered and soe to be decided. Mr Parker craued the brethren's counsell for preventinge of the meetinge of some in Dedham and namely of Perman (sic). yt was thoughte meete that their dealinges shuld be espied and them to be talked withall and if they leaue not, then the Magistrate to be acquainted wth it to reforme yt.

[1583.] [Seventh Meeting. 3 June. Langham.][1]

Mr Lewis had spoken to the Magistrate to enquire for Percinan by faithfull men but he could not be founde. [It was thoughte good that tutching the manner of enterpretinge of the Scriptures to be observed emongst ourselues in this exercise that euery man shuld be left to the measure of his giftes, and not to be tyed to any certayne and precise order, true doctryne being reuerently and discretely delyuered.]

[1583.] [8 Meeting 24 June at Boxford.]

[Tutchinge the baptisinge of [2] children base borne it was concluded that they shuld be baptised, some approved christians of the congregation undertakinge for their religyous education.] Moued by Mr. Dowe. Mr Farrur desired the brethren to aduise him what to do wth a wicked man that was come into his parish and saieth he hath the B.[s] authority for all will not be conformable, it was thought meet to get witnesses of his wordes and their handwriting to proue it and call him before a magistrate.

[It was thoughte good Mr Lewes shuld cease his readinge upon Genesis and choose some other place of Scripture, the same texte beinge publickely at the same tyme enterpreted by Mr. Northie.][3]

It was agreed on that the Question of the Sabboth before propounded shuld carefully be considered of and euery man giue in his reasons to D. Cricke and he to answer them at the next meetinge, and that Mr D. Chapman, Mr Stocton and Mr Morse craue the iudgmentes of some godly men in Cambridge tutching the question of the Sabboth. The state of the question is this

[1] Here follows, crossed out, ['It was thoughte good that for the handlinge of the Scriptures euery man shuld be lefte to the measure of his giftes geuen him of God, and not to be tied to any precise order therin:] (attempt to correct it, "tutching the manner of enterpreting of the Scriptures to be observed emongst ourselues in this exercise that . . . " ')

[2] 'the' crossed out.

[3] George Northey; *see* Introduction.

first, that ther is a Sabboth. 2 yt is not a whole naturall daie. 3. that we be not bound to the same rest that was w^th^ the Jewes.

[9 Meeting 5 August at Peldon]. Mr. Tay Speaker. M^r^ Stocton Moderator. [1583.]

[Here some tyme was spente aboute the vse of the Sabboth.] Some reasons were gathered by D. Cricke; it was ordered D. Chapman shuld haue the ouersight of them, and D. Cricke shuld answer any reason brought in by D. Chapman against his iudgment set downe, and then the brethren to haue the fruit of his labers.

It was propounded whether we might goe to the B: or noe: it was thought good not to goe, if the message M^r^ Tuke[1] brought were true, yt we shuld not well come till he sent for us. It was propounded how far a pastor might goe in reading the book of common praier, but nothing was said to yt.

It was said o^r^ meetinges were knowen and thretned, yet it was thought good not to be left but that some godlie lawier shuld be talked w^th^ how we may meet by law and M^r^ Tay and M^r^ Lewis thought fitt men.

[10 Meeting 2 Sept at Barfold] at Hog Lane. [1583.]

[Where the time was spente in prayer ioigned w^th^ fastinge.] wher M^r^ D. Cricke, M^r^ Dowe, M^r^ Stocton and M^r^ Lowe were speakers and M^r^ Tay moderator.

[11 Meeting 7 octob at Wenham.] M^r^ Dow speaker. M^r^ Androwes Moderator. [1583.]

[More tyme was spente about the cause of the Sabboth. in examyninge of M^r^ D. Crickes travayles about that Question to whom that charge was chiefly committed by consente.] The thinges moued were these: first that it were good the Archb.[2] shuld be written unto to be favourable to y^e^ Church and to discipline. the answer was, that letters shuld be sent to other brethren about it, and yt D. Chapman shuld write to London and Norwich and M^r^ Sandes to Cambridge about it, and to the brethren in Suffolk, and that M^r^ D. Withers shuld be written unto.[3]

[1] *See* Introduction.

[2] Whitgift, nominated August 14, 1583, though not consecrated till October 23.

[3] These were carried out. See *infra*, letters: Chapman to Field, p. 95; Field

It was said an ungodlie sermon was made by Mr Beamon[1] of Hadleigh, defacing the men of Antwerpe. It was thought good D. Cricke shuld get some notes of the sermon and so Mr. D, still to be dealt with about it.

It was also signified to the brethren yt a wicked man being a mynister at Higham, it was agreed that Mr Dowe and Mr. Morse shuld deale w^th^ it and get articles against him.

[15]. [12 Meeting 4 Nouemb: at Stratford.] At Mr Morses: Mr Tye Speaker, Mr D. Crick Moderator.

[It was thoughte most convenient that untoward persons shulde be trayned to the vse of the word and Sacramentes by all lovinge and gentle admonityons.][2]

At this tyme it was agreed that euery man shuld bring in his reasons for the right vse of the Sabaoth. 2 yt euery one yeld his opinion whether a Catechisme shuld be followed and be enterpreted.

[1583.] [13 Meeting 1 Decemb] at Colchester at Mr. Lowes house. Mr Low Speaker Mr Lewis Moderator.[3]

[It was agreed that some certayne forme of catechisinge might be followed by the mynisters in the Churche especially for the use of the younger sorte; as a preparatyue to the publike and ordenary exercises of the worde and prayer.] This was here moued, what course was to be taken to redresse the multitude of roges[4] wherw^th^ the cuntrey was charged at their dores notwithstanding they paid money besides; it was not thought convenient for us to deale in yt, except the creditt of any were such as to deale w^th^ some Magistrate for it, and then to deale as a private man in it.

to Chapman, p. 96; Chapman to Withers, p. 87; the brethren to Withers, p. 89. On Withers *see* notes to the letters.

[1] Not the minister who appears in some of the following papers.

[2] This is the corrected version; it originally stood, 'It was thoughte most convenient that a pastor by Catechising shuld seeke to wyne those that will not come to the word and Sacramentes.'

[3] Here follow, struck out, 'As tutchinge the order to be used by the pastor in Catechisinge of the youthe.'

[4] 'Rogues,' the 'sturdy beggars' common at that time.

[14 Meeting 13 Jaun.] at Dedham at Mr Parker's. Mr. Sands Speaker. Mr Androwes Moderator. [1583/4.]

[Mr. Wilcockes letters of request for helpinge of him in his present necessitye were then read and considered of.] [1]

Mr. Sandes alledged some reasons against Mr D. Cricks labers about the Sabboth, wch were to be brought in writing the next meeting.

It was moued what course the ministers might take for going before the Bishop, but nothing done in it. Mr. Tie was desired to lay out the money for Mr Wilcock and it shuld be repaid him the next meetinge. Tutching the booke of common praier it was thought good yt Mr. Sands and Mr Tay shuld view it ouer and note out the thinges might be used with a good conscience and what not.

It was moued that a day of fasting might be kept, wch was concluded to be the next meetinge and in the meane tyme to haue some extraordenary praiers used in or families to that ende.

[15 Meeting 3 Febr. at Barfold.] at Hog lane. the persons that spake at this fast were Mr D. Chapman. Mr. Sands: Mr. Tay: Mr. Farrar. & Mr D. Crick, Moderator. [1583/4.]

[The time was spente in praier wth fastinge: [2] At this time also the firste epistle to Timothie was chosen to be enterpreted. Mr Farrar was then moued by the brethren to renewe his exercise of prechinge in his owne congregation.]

Mr. Tie signified to the brethren that the money was paid to Mr Wilcocke he being released before out of prison and was agreed

[1] Thomas Wilcox; *see* Introduction. His present trouble was this: 'Wilcoxe for lacke of his former maintenance, which was witheld from him by the brethren's procurement and upon perswasion that after a time he should be restored to his ministerie againe and in the meane space be relieved (i.e. by contributions).' (Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions*, p. 119).

[2] For examples of Puritan prayers see Strype, *Annals*, III. i. 66–7, and Waddington, *Congregationalism*, ii. 739, showing how closely these early 'extemporaneous' prayers were modelled on the Common Prayer Book. The significance of these frequent fasts (5th, 10th, 15th, 23rd meetings, &c.) lies in the fact that after the forbidding of the prophecies in 1577 the Puritan clergy held together private fasts (Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 286; Neal, *Puritans*, i. 372), out of which grew these 'conferences' in which were united the prophesy, the fast, and slowly the new ideas which made it later a Presbytery.

that a letter shuld be made to him to repay it or to promise payment of yt.

[1583/4.] [16 Meeting 2 March at Dedham] at D. Chapman's. M^r^ Androwes speaker. M^r^ Farrar Moderator.

[It was thoughte good if anie of the brethren were called to subscribe [1] to require tyme to deliberate.]

[1584.] [17 Meeting. 6 April at Colch: 1584] at M^r^ Lewes house. M^r^ D. Crick, Speaker. M^r^ Sands Moderator.

It was then determyned that a certeyne some of money shuld be raised by the brethren, (w^ch^ is noted in the margent) for M^r^ Wilcocke.

Mr. D. Chapman . . .	20 *s.*
Mr. D. Crick	20 *s.*
Mr. Tay	20 *s.*
Mr. Sands	20 *s.*
Mr. Farrar	10 *s.*
Mr. Morse	10 *s.*
Mr. Tilney	10 *s.*
Mr. Lewis	10 *s.*
Mr. Tye	10 *s.*
Mr. Parker	5 *s.*

w^ch^ was done and paid to M^r^ Tye that laid it out, and it was concluded that a letter shuld be sent to admonish Mr. Wilcock of

[1] To subscribe to the Three Articles of Archbishop Whitgift—(1) the Queen's Supremacy; (2) the lawfulness of the Book of Common Prayer and the form of ordering the bishops, priests, and deacons; (3) the agreeing to all of the Thirty-nine Articles. *See* Cardwell, *Annals*, i. 468, and various other books. The details of efforts to secure conformity by subscription are recounted at great length in Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*; in Strype, *Whitgift*, *Aylmer*, and *Annals*; and repeated in Neal's *Puritans* and most of the Church histories since written. But there is in this 'Minute Book' scant confirmation of the censures usually passed upon the severity, harshness, and injustice of the bishop's proceedings. The following statements of Whitgift's were probably literally true: 'The recusants *for the most part* were men of no account either for learning or otherwise but very troublesome and contentious. . . . And yet that the third part of these wilful persons were not suspended but only admonished' (Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 307). 'These had had now almost half a year's space to resolve themselves in . . . . Some of the persons who now were petitioners (to the Privy Council) had greatly abused his lenity in that behalf' (*ibid.* p. 303, May 26, 1584)

his fault for not signifying the receipt of the money by some note of his handes. M^r^ Sandes brought in his reasons against M^r^ D. Crickes labers about the Sabboth: it was thought good M^r^ D. shuld haue them and answer them the nexte meetinge. Mr. Tay brought in his iudgment and reasons for the Book of Common praier. M^r^ Chapman moued that the B^s^ proceeding did admonish the ministers to haue a generall meeting to conferre what might be done. it was thought good euery one shuld stirre up his friend to consider of it.

[18 Meeting 4 May at Langham.] Mr. Lewis Speaker, M^r^ Tay Moderator. [1584.]

[It was thought good M^r^ Morse shuld accepte of a callinge in Sir Drew Drurie's house w^th^ certayne condic̄ions.

It was thought good a generall meetinge of lerned brethren shuld be procured for better aduise and consent about the cause of subscriptions.]

It was also thought expedient that congregations beinge depryued of the use of their owne mynisters shuld be prouided for by some other preachers to be procured for a tyme.

Mr. Dow moued this, whether it were convenient a woman shuld pray having a better gift than her husband, reserved to the next meeting to be considered of. Mr. Tilney: whether the minister and thelements in the Sacrament be of the essence of the Sacrament. it is reserued till the next meetinge.

Mr. Sands moued the brethren for a fast, it was thought meete euery man shuld stirre up himself to it.

[19 Meeting 1 June at Chatham.] Mr. Tilney Speaker. M^r^ Tye moderator. [1584.]

[Aduise was geuen by the brethren to Mr. Negus tutchinge his estate and dealinge w^th^ his people.]

Mr. Sands brought not his replie against D. Crickes reasons because he was absente. ffor the generall meeting moued before it was thought good yt M^r^ Newman shuld goe to London and understand the brethrens mynd and certify us of it.[1]

The question of womans praier is omitted as not necessary to be handled. The question of the mynister and elements in the Sacraments is deferred till some other tyme.

[1] This confirms Bancroft's surmise. See *supra*, p. 9.

Mr. Newman moued whether he might get a standing supply for his place: it was thought fitt so it be a scholer in the university, lest the B. shuld send a hirelinge, but it was feared the B. wold suspend him, if he were a good man.

Mr. Tay moued whether the Churches shuld not ioigne in supplication wth others being a duty in them to saie for their pastors being faithfull and they depriued of them, as it is to saie if they had noe pastors, it was thought necessary the congregations shuld make a supplication.[1]

He moued also whether a minister might cease preching being forbidden by the magistrate. it was answered that they that doubted shuld bring in their reasons. 2. M^{r} Morse (?) staied his speech. see 26 Jeremiah.

[1584.] [20 Meeting 1 July at Boxford.] At Mr. Sands. Mr. Farrar Speaker. M^{r} D. Chapman moderator.

[It was thought good that enquiry should be made of the number of mynisters nere unto us w^{ch} are both insufficient in lerninge and notoriouslye offensyve in Liffe.][2] moued by D. Cricke. It was thought good that men of fitt giftes and good lieff shuld be found out to supply the Churches want if they can come in wth favour: so that it might not mainteyne a changing (?) ministery: Mr. Sands moued it.

[Tutchinge mariage of cosins children (moued by Mr. Negus) it was determyned to be lawfull, and the conveniency of it to be waighed by circumstances of the place and people there wher such questions shall come in use.] Mr. Dow moued this, what course he shuld take for Stratford one having gott the presentation. he was aduised to ask counsell and to gett his parish to ioigne wth him.

[1] This and like details elsewhere in this book tend to rob the numerous petitions in favour of the Puritan clergy of much of that importance given them by Strype, Neal, Davis, &c. It is indeed significant that any of the gentry should have signed the papers at all, but it will now be difficult to contend that these documents represent a spontaneous or widespread feeling in the ministers' favour among their congregations.

[2] This was probably done, and may be the document printed in Davids's *Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 88. Out of 335 there were only 110 'decent' ministers, and only 43 mentioned as 'painful ministers,' the latter being those men who drew up the survey. This reveals how greatly outnumbered these Puritans were, even on their own computation. *See also* the 21st meeting.

Mr. Tilney moued whether he shuld goe to the court, he was at his 3 admonicion. it was thought good he shuld not goe.

Mr. Negus was aduised to tarry wth his parish if the godlie desired it and wold mainteyne him.

Mr. Tay moued whether we might not stand in the truth of the doctrine of Christs office as we doe in the truth of his natures. it was thought good to be better weighed and so was deferred.

[21 Meeting 3 August at Peldon.] Mr. Negus speaker Mr. Parker Moderator. [1584.]

[It was thought good. Mr. Lowe[1] shuld be earnestly delt withall by some of the brethren and persuaded to ioigne with us in our meetinges ordenarely with diligence and cherfulnes.][2]

M^{r} Lewis told us that the Archb. offred Articles to some and an othe: and therfore moued the brethren to shew what course shuld be taken, it was answered we shuld heare something by the brethren to whom the othe was offred.

Mr. Farrar moued what course shuld be taken wth the child of a strumpet brought into his Church secretly and left there: whether it shuld be baptised, it was thought yt by the next meeting he shuld heare of some order taken for it, and soe not now fitt to be delt in but deferred.

M^{r} Chapman moued wh'ther it were thought good that a reconciliation shuld be offred to the B:^{s} that since we professe one god and preache one doctrine we may ioigne together wth better consent to build up the Churche. This was not thought convenient of the most lest we shuld seem to yeld in o^{r} cause, and sought to be of their company.[3]

M^{r} Tay was moued to deale wth M^{r} Lowe to know the cause of his absence and his reasons and if he prevailed not to ioigne M^{r} Farrar wth him, and afterward Mr. D. Chapman and Mr. Parker were willed to conferre with him about his absence from us.

[1] Lowe had signed the Agreement, but had not attended many meetings. He eventually dropped out entirely.

[2] This is the last entry in the larger hand and the black ink. All that follows is in Parker's small writing and a reddish-hued ink.

[3] This was the attitude which provoked the wrath of the Bishops and was termed the 'Presumption which is everywhere to be found in these days.' Bancroft, Sermon at Paul's Cross, February 1588, and *passim*.

Mr. Dow and Mr. Stocton delt with the gentlemen in Suffolke about the number of ill mynisters as it was before appointed and are enioigned to goe agayne before the next meeting to knowe more fully of them.

The iudgment of the lawyers is that the othe offred by the Bishops is not to be allowed.

It was concluded that a letter shuld be written to M^r^ Wilcock signifying the brethrens mynd in their benevolence to be this, not to geue him but to lend him the money:[1]

Mr. Androwes shewed some causes to moue his departure from Wenham w^ch^ was referred.

M^r^ Parker moued a day of fast w^ch^ was deferred to the next meeting save one.

[1584.] The 7 Septeb. the 22 Meeting at Coxall at Mr. Newman's house. M^r^ Morse speaker. M^r^ Stocton Moderator.

At this tyme Mr. Androwes asked the brethrens aduise tutching his departure from Wenham: it was appointed that Mr. D. Chapman and M^r^ Farrar shuld deale w^th^ the people to see what they wold pay him, for the tyme past and for the tyme to come.

Mr. Tilney and M^r^ Newman moued this, whether they might preach and exercise their ministery being suspended, it was not thought good to presse soe farre considering the state of the tyme.

Mr. Newman moued whether he might goe to the Archbishopp and yeld to that subscription as offred to the xxxvij article, and to the article tutching faith and the Sacramentes, it was thought not to yeld to that subscription.[2]

It is agreed that the nexte daie of meeting shuld be spent in praier and fastinge, the Speakers to be Mr. Sandes, Mr. Stocton, and M^r^ Negus.

M^r^ Stocton moued whether he might safelie in conscience preach being requested thereunto he being yet no minister. it was not delt in.

The next place at Dedham. Mr. D. Chapman Moderator.

[1] See *ante*, 14th and 17th meetings.

[2] Contrary to what is usually said, these men appear individually quite ready to conform. The Bishops were aware of it and complained 'they were animated by some which might have been better occupied'—that is, the gentry and some few leaders. Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 307. Many similar items follow in this book, *e.g.* meetings 25 and 27, &c.

The 5 of October was ye 23 Meeting at Mr Chap: house. [1584.]

This daie was spent in praier and fasting as before was appointed. The questions moued and delt in were these.

Mr. Sands moued whether it were best for him to take his iourney at this tyme to prevent some mischieff might come by the Commissary at whose hand he feared some ill measure: the most of the brethren were of this mynd that he shuld goe, if he had determyned it, having regard that his going might be noe disgrace to his cause.

Mr Lewis moued whether one hauing secretly committed filthines being now tutched with it in conscience and promising publike confession of it. he shuld secretly or openly confesse his fault, it was not thought fitt to be delt in.

Mr. Tilney desired to heare some reasons why he shuld not preach though the B. shuld restreigne him, it was thought best to be deferred and to be talked of afterward. yet the brethren willed Mr Tilney and Mr Negus to bring in reasons why they shuld preach being forbidden.

Mr. Negus alleged the B. had proceeded with him against law, and therfore he thought he might preach agayne, it was said unto him, that he might aske aduise of some wise and discreet lawyers tutching that point and if it be not against law then to proceed.

Mr. Androwes moued how he might deale wth an offensyue person that hath his child to be baptised, it is thought good he shuld baptise the child if some of the frindes, or of the Church, that be godlie be procured to answer for it, and to bringe the partie to repentance if it may be.

Mr. Newman moued whether he and his people might not goe to the B. for his liberty, the Archb. being willinge he shuld be restored if the Bishopp wold. it was not delt in.

Mr. Tuke was sent for to the Bishop and required ether to read the praiers as they be set downe in the book of common praier and to mynister the Sacraments as is appointed or els to cease preching: he is willing to do it if he may be confirmed in it by the aduise of the brethren. Thus nothing was said of it.

The next place appointed is Mr Dowes house in Stratford. Mr Newman speaker, Mr. Farrar Moderator.

[1584.] The 2 of November was our 24 meeting at Stratford.

Wher these thinges were moued to be considered of.

ffirst whether it were not convenient that a fast shuld be against Parliament that was at hand: it was thought necessary that ther shuld be one and euery man to stirre up his people to earnest prayer for the good of the Churche.

Mr. Tay put the brethren in mynd that some of Malden[1] were cast into prison and did craue helpe of the brethren. Mr D. Cricke moued how he shuld deale wth some obstynate contemners and raylers of his doctryne. it was deferred till some more fitt tyme.

It was agreed upon at this tyme that in euery cuntrey some shuld be chosen so farre as we could procure it that some of best creditt and most forward for the gosple shuld goe up to London to solicite the cause of the Churche.[2]

The Daie for the next fast is appointed to be on the 2 December being Wednesday for some considerations. The place to be at Langham at Mr. Farrars house. The speakers in the fast to be Mr D. Cricke, Mr Tay, Mr Negus. Mr. Newman moderator.

[1584.] The 2 of December was or 25 meetinge at Langham.

At this tyme praier and fastinge was used as it was before decreed. The speakers were the persons before mentioned.

There was nothing moued at this meetinge, but Mr Sandes wished that euery one as he was acquainted wth any gentlemen of worth and of godlines shuld stirre them up to be zealous for reformation.

The next place appointed was at Barfold at Mr D. Crickes house. Mr D. Cricke speaker. Mr Morse moderator.

[1584/5.] The 4 Jaun: was our 26 meeting at Barfold.

At this tyme these thinges were moued to the brethern as followeth:

ffirst Mr D. Chapman craued the brethrens aduise, what order might be taken for a papist remaining in Dedham, one Doctor Uxenbridge[3] yt was agreed that these persons shuld conferre

[1] Probably George Gifford. See *D. N. B.*

[2] Confirmed by and confirming Bancroft, *supra*, p. 40.

[3] Andrew Oxenbridge. He subscribed the Oath of Supremacy, May 14, 1583, after a long refusal. Strype, *Annals*, iii. pt. I. 276. A long account of their debates with him is in the MS. among the 'papers,' but is not worth printing (f. 255 ff.)

with him. Mr D. Chapman, Mr D. Cricke, Mr Farrar, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Dowe, Mr Stocton.

Mr. Dow moued this, whether it were not needfull that ther shuld (be) praier and fastinge agayne bycause of the assembly of parliament: yt was thought necessary and that the brethren of London shuld be written unto, to know when they appoint to haue theirs, that we might ioigne w^th^ them, and that some shuld contynue to solicite the cause of the Church there.

Mr. Farrar craued the brethrens advise in this, whether being chosen by some persons unknowing to him to be a Commissioner for examyninge of witnesses for matters depending betwene a bad mynister and his people he might deale in it: it was thought good he shuld further this present occasion for the good of the people, but els to certify the people that they shuld choose fitter men another tyme that might better deale in such causes then any mynister.

Mr. Tilney craued the aduise of the brethren what he might doe for marying[1] a couple of unequall ages, a young man but of 24 yeares and the woman fifty and more. he had by request published the contract once: It was thought meete he shuld deale w^th^ the chieff of the parish to dissuade the parties from mariage, and to see how farre the parties had gone in it, and to consider the lawfulnes of the contract, and to proceed accordinglie.[2]

Mr. Sandes asked how he shuld deale w^th^ some persons that carelessly refuse the Sacraments for two or three yeares space, whether he shuld spare them, since by that means other negligent persons looked to be spared in like case. it was deferred to be considered of.

Mr. Tay moued that something might be done for that our Clarkes chosen for the Convocation house were refused at the Bishops handes.

The next meeting is appointed to be this day moneth viz. the ffirst of February and to be spent in praier and fasting according to the motion made by Mr. Dowe. The Speakers were these 3. Mr Newman. Mr. Lewis and Mr Parker. The Moderator Mr Dowe. The place was at Mr. Morses of Stratforde.

[1] 'a couple' struck out.

[2] Yet the Puritans denied, in 1592, that any had exercised any ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Neal, *Puritans* (1816), v. 293.

[1584/5.] The first of February was our 27 Meeting at Stratforde.

Wher praier and fasted (sic) was used by the persons before named.

It was moued whether Mr. Edward Morse (being a good man and we assembled in his house) might be admitted amongst us for that tyme: it was thought well of, so it might not be made an example hereafter for others to doe the like.

M^r^ Negus moued the brethren that in this publike exercise they wold pray to god for him, and commend his state unto the highest, being about to take his iourney to london for his restoring to liberty in his callinge. It is to be remembred that he was at that tyme restored to his publike mynistery agayne before he came back to us.

Mr. Sandes moued the same question tutching such as for light causes refuse the Sacraments but it is still deferred.

Mr. Morse craued the brethrens advise to a private place where M^r^ Pigge now is; but it was deferred to be considered of.

This was also moued, whether a fact committed by a minister not knowen generally in the parish wher he is but knowen of diuerse in other places, may be satisfied for by a private reconciliation, it was deferred.

Mr. D. Chapman moued the brethren appointed to come to conferre w^th^ the papist [1] and to seeke by what means the great cause of the Church that is now in hand might be delt in and good done in it, and for to procure some good, it was concluded that M^r^ Knewstubb [2] for Suffolk and Mr. Gifford [3] and M^r^ Wright [4] of Essex shuld be moued to deale for the church and letters to be written to them to that ende.

Mr. Androwes was at this meetinge admonished for his absence from his charge, and the cause of his departure was spoken of: And thereupon this question was moued whether a pastor called to a place may leaue the people they being unwilling of his departure. It was answered ther are causes to moue a pastor to depart, wherof want of mayntenance may be one cause, yet the least, for a mynister shuld looke before he goe to a place whether his mayntenance be sufficient, and if not withstanding the slender

[1] Oxenbridge. *See* 26th meeting.

[2] John Knewstubbs; *see* Introduction. [3] George Gifford; *see* Introduction.

[4] Robert Wright; *see* Introduction.

mayntenance he accept it, he doth laie such a yoke upon his necke as he can hardlie shake of: this was Mr. D. Cricks speeche.

Mr. Tay said among other matters, that he had read in a Counsell and Synode gathered together that this matter was handled and set downe, that it was neuer seene, that any man went from a great place to a little charge, and so it was noted as a spice of seeking earthly thinges in those yt haue gone from[1] little places to gret ones: yet it was thought good if a man being in a little charge at his first entrance. the lord encreasing his guifts, if by the iudgment of wise and faithfull brethren it shuld be found to be more for godes glorie and the good of the church to be in a greater charge, he mighte departe.

The reasons whie M^r^ Androwes desired to goe from Wenham were these.

ffirst he had no comfort in that place, his hart was dead in it, and he thought that he shuld neuer doe good there. 2. his wyues and childrens want of healthe. 3. his small mayntenance and manner of paying of it[2] these reasons were to be considered of, and for this present it was agayne determined that M^r^ D. Chapman and M^r^ D. Crick and M^r^ Farrar shuld talke w^th^ the people and him together, and soe conclude the matter if they could.

The next place appointed was at M^r^ Lewes his house in Colchester. The Speaker M^r^ Dowe; the Moderator M^r^ Sandes.

Ther was an extraordenary meetinge in Dedham the 17 of Febru. [1584/5.]

This extraordenary meetinge was at Edmund Sherman's house, wher all the brethren were assembled to debate tutchinge Mr. Androwes departure from Wenham by speciall request from

[1] 'gre' struck out.

[2] It is difficult to see why he thus complained, unless he was very unreasonable. The living of Wenham was worth 25*l.* The value of Puritan livings ranks very high indeed. Boxted was worth 26*l.*; Coggeshall, 70*l.*; Dedham, 30*l.*; Leigh, 30*l.*; all held by members of this conference. [*View of the State of the Clergy of Essex, cir.* 1610 (tract).] In many cases Puritans drew far more than this, 100*l.* even. Neal, *Puritans*, i. 323 (1816). On the other hand the vast majority of the clergy had less than 15*l.* a year. In the diocese of Lichfield (1600) 51 had *less* than 5*l.*; 124 between 5*l.* and 10*l.*; 50 between 10*l.* and 15*l.*; and only 24 were paid more than 15*l.* 'Clergy List of Lichfield, *temp.* Eliz.,' *Journal of Derbyshire Archæological and Natural Hist. Society*, vi. 157 (1884). *See* Strype, *Grindal*, p. 565, and *Whitgift*, passim.

Mr Bailiffe of Yarmouth in a letter sent to them: wher Mr. D. Chapman first declared what Mr D. Crick, Mr. Farrar, and he had done at Wenham viz that Mr Androwes used the reasons before[1] mentioned why he wold depart: 1. want of comfort in his mynistry. 2. his small mainteynance not past 25£ by yeare. 3. his charge encreasinge. 4. that he had now a lawfull callinge to another place. And tutching the people of Wenham, they answered and confessed themselves negligent in not performing their duties and promised to amend it and that they ioigned in euery good cause wth him for his comforte but in one, wch they could not remedy. they said his maintenance was small, but they could not better yt. and for his departure they could by no meanes consent unto it: and yet[2] Mr.D. Chapman thought ther wold gret inconvenience arise if he departed not, for he was persuaded that the people generally wold be well enough content wth it, for in all this tyme they had neuer sought to any of the brethren to entreate to haue him their pastor still.

Mr. D. Cricke he used these reasons tutchinge this question: first that his hart could not by anie meanes consent to his departure[3] because it wold be the ruyne of this poore Church of Wenham, and we might not helpe another church and build it up though it were a greater church wth the decay of a neighbor Church though it were lesser. If any shall saie, this may be supplied wth a good man, I answer that cannot be, bicause the Advouzem is in the hand of one that will seeke his advantage, and if he will needes go, yet this shall comforte me that I neuer consented to the spoile of a churche.

Secondlie for the reason of his want of mayntenance, I thinke this, that we must make hard shifte being in our places, for if Paull wrought wth his handes, that example may teache us to be content wth a little and Calvin I thinke is against it. If any shall saie I cannot haue my healthe, it is an ill ayre and a small liuinge, I answere that it is the place God hath appointed thee and the ayre he seeth best, and therefore to be content. and tutching his comfort the fault is in himself bicause of his straungnes to them, and though I shuld yeld to his departure from Wenham yet can I in noe sorte yeld to his goinge to Yarmouthe, for if I haue any skill at all, as his gifte may be to great for Wenham, so it is

[1] 'not' struck out. [2] 'therefore' struck out.

[3] 'first' struck out.

not fytt for Yarmouthe, his guifte being rather in exhortation then in doctryne.

Mr. Tay tutching this point said: that ther was a neere coniunction betwene the Paster and the people that thone shuld not forsake thother no more then man and wieff shuld. And if the people were untoward he shuld look what the cause was, whether the fault was in him, if it were then to humble himself, if it were in the people to apply it unto them and the rather to tary w^th^ them to reforme them, for Ezechiell was [1] told he shuld doe noe good w^th^ with the people yet god sent him to them.

Mr. Dowe said the same in effecte, and added this moreouer that the mayntenance must be smaller before he could depart w^th^ a good conscience and hope of blessinge.

Mr. Lewes, he thought there were causes might moue a Pastor to departe and that we are not soe streitly tied to his flocke in these confused daies wherin we haue noe discipline nor good order. And wheras M^r^ D. Crick said he could not consent for his going to Yarmouth bycause his gifte was not for a Teacher in that great place, he said tutching that pointe that he was to applie himself as soundly in Wenham as in Yarmouth, and if he could not delyuer doctryne in Wenham, he was not fitt for it in Yarmouthe.

Mr. Negus thought that he might not departe being of M^r^ Tay his iudgment and he added this that he thought euery man that professeth himself desirous of discipline shuld exercise it himself in his owne causes soe farre as he coulde. Mr. Stocton also was against his departure and said further, that he might not goe from being a pastor w^ch^ was the higher callinge to be a Teacher w^ch^ was the inferior: but to this reason, some of the brethren answered, that in these disordered tymes they thought it might be, wherin euery teacher doth for the peoples good exhorte.

The brethren hauing thus yelded their seuerall iudgments, the messenger one M^r^ Mayham that came w^th^ letters from the Bailliffes of Yarmouth to the brethren was called in, and it was signified to him what was adiudged of Mr. Androwes [2] departure from Wenham, and M^r^ D. Crick said unto Mr. Mayham blame not the people for being lothe to part w^th^ their pastor, for if I were one of yt church, I had as lieue they shuldest pluck out

[1] 'told' struck out. [2] 'his' struck out.

myne eie as take from me my paster, to whom Mr Mayham answered, but Sir, if you cast out yr eie yow will geue me leaue to take it up: and so the brethren ended debating about this matter and Mr Mayham departed unsatisfied.

At this extraordinary meetinge Mr. Negus propounded whether he might depart from Ipswiche, the most of his parish standing against him and having covenanted wth him to be there one yeare yet brake their covenant and did euen thrust him out,[1] since he had now a good callinge offred him to the congregation of Lee[2] and was thought good that the people of Ipswich shuld be conferd withall by Mr D. Chapman and Mr D. Cricke.

Tutching the motion wch Mr Morse propounded before for going to a private place it was at this tyme adiudged by the most of the brethren that he shuld rather tarry at home wth his mother, bicause the place he shuld goe to was but private as his mother's house was.

[1584/5.] The 8 of March was our 28 meeting ordenary as before at Colchester at Mr Lewis his house.

At this tyme a little was spoken of Mr Androwes departure, for he had desired Mr Lewis and Mr Newman to signify to the brethren his desire to haue bene there wth them but could not, but bicause he was alreadye departed from Wenham, they thought it not good to deale in the matter of his going to any other place, but as he had gone from Wenham wthout their[3] consent soe they wold let him goe to any other place.

The questions moued at this tyme were these:

Mr D. Crick moued as before he had done, what course was to be taken wth some kind of people that disturbed him in his mynistry, it is deferred to be further considered of.

[1] Harmony did not prevail between the Puritan pastor and his congregation in nine cases out of ten. Browne complained that 'the parishes were in such bondage to the bishops that they required whoever would minister to them to come unto the same bondage' (quoted in Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 67). *See also* an article by the present editor in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1904 on 'The People and the Puritan Movement,' where the question is considered at some length. This 'Minute Book' abounds in illustrations of the argument there set forth. *See* meetings 29, 51, 60, 61, and 72.

[2] Usually written 'Leigh.'

[3] 'his' crossed out.

Mr Parker moued that the Question of the Sabboth might be determined, it was also deferred.

Mr Dowe moued the same question in effect wch Mr D. Crick did, but he compleyned of such as wold not come to heare him nor receyue the Sacraments from him, this was also deferred for want of tyme.

Mr. Negus craued the brethrens aduise whether he might accept the callinge of the Church in Ipswich, or of the Church in Lee, it was thought meet if he might haue convenient tymes to exercise his ministery and a good callinge to them, not conditionall nor subiecte to soe much reading of service, that then he shuld rather tary in Ipswich bicause of the want of pastors, and for feare, lest if he went noe pastors shuld be gotten afterwarde.

Mr. Tay moued the brethren that the maisters of Colledges might be written unto to haue a care of the Church discipline.

The next meeting is appointed to be at Barford at Hoglane at Mr Cockrels: the speaker, Mr D. Chapman, Mr Tilney moderator.

The 5 of Aprill was our 29 meeting 1585 at Barfolde. [1585.]

At this meetinge the question moued before by Mr D. Cricke for those that wold not heare nor come to the Communion was concluded upon thus, that he shuld use all lenity wth them and persuade them if he could by gentle means, and it was thoughte meete that Mr D. Chapman and Mr D. Cricke shuld use some conference wth them to the same ende.

As tutching Mr Sandes his question, being the same almost wth the former, but differing in this point, that the persons he compleyned of wold come to the worde diligently but tooke euery light occasions of brawles to hinder their comming to the Communion: It was answered that the auncientes in the towne shuld deale wth them and professe an earnest dislike of their course and if they wold not be reformed by that meanes, then to discountenance them, to this end that they might see their follye.

Another question moued by Mr Dowe was this, yt Mr Bird scholemr of Cockfield might be written unto to accept of Wenham. it was thought good he shuld be hearde preach, and soe be allowed of by the brethren.[1]

[1] And yet these and others who had done the same wrote in 1592, 'Concerning our conferences, we have been charged to have given orders and made ministers and to have administered the censures of the Church and finally to have exercised

Also he moued that we the mynisters might use one forme and order in o^r praiers before our sermons, some praying for the church before some after, some making noe praier in thende, w^ch was yelded unto by the brethren all geving consent unto yt.

Againe he moued, that we might minister the Sacramentes if not so often in o^r Churches here aboute, yet all upon one daie, w^ch the brethren yelded unto to be done all upon one daie, but it could not be agreed on to be done once a moneth, as it is in some Churches.

M^r D. Chapman liked well of the former motions and desired that the orders of our Churches for gouernment might be imparted one to another, and the best to be taken and used, that there might be as much conformity as might be outwardlie.

Also he moued the brethrens aduise in this; what course might be taken w^th one that had committed an offence secretlie, and denied it before some persons of the same place wher he did the offence, and yet afterward unto some of the sd persons did confesse that he did lye, whether he were to confesse his fault onlie to those fewe or to be urged to the publicke confession of it, the suspicion that he is faulty being publike but not his confession : it was differred till the next meetinge.

He also moued whether the Auncients of a Church having once consented unto an order to haue a Communion once a moneth, it be not a matter of conscience for them to w^thdraw themselues at anie communion without urgent business. differred till the next meeting.

Mr. Lewis required aduise what course he shuld take w^th some, that refused to heare him on the lordes daie when M^r (sic) did preache, and told of one woman that professed a desire to come to the Communion w^th him, and yet thought she shuld not ouercome herself to be present at the Sacrament bicause she shuld lose the exercise of the worde, the consideration of it was deferred.

all ecclesiastical jurisdiction . . . . we protest before God and the holy Angels, that we have never exercised any part of such jurisdiction nor had any purpose agreed among us to exercise the same, before we should by public law be authorized thereunto.' Neal, *Puritans*, v. 293 (1816). Letter of Puritan Ministers to the Queen, 1592, April. Yet only casuistry can show that their actions in the cases of Mr. Andrews, Mr. Negus, and Mr. Bird were not the giving of orders and making of ministers; and in this book elsewhere are abundant examples of exercising church discipline or of seeing that it was exercised, *e.g.* meetings 35 and 39.

He also signified that Mr Tay of Peldon desired the brethren to praie for godes blessing upon his busyness now left unto him by reason of his brothers deathe and that they wold helpe him wth a contynuall supplie in his place and service of his church for one moneth on the lordes daie: wch was laid on Mr Stocton and he yelded unto it and promised to goe euery lordes daie.

Mr Newman asked counsell what shuld be done wth such men as trouble their ministers being altogether disordered against whom if the ministers compleyne, they may feare by their compleints agayne the ouerthrow of their ministery, differred till some other tyme.

The next place to be at Dedham at Mr Parkers house, the speaker Mr Sandes, the moderator Mr. Newman.

The 3 of May was our 30 Meeting at Dedham. [1585.

At this meeting the question that Mr D. Chapman moued the last meeting was determyned thus, that the attempt of the fact being secrett, and the lie that he made in denying the attempte being but to one also, that if that one man to whom he disclosed his lie doe see fruites of repentance in him, he is not to be urged to a more publike confession of his faulte. ffor thother question that he moued tutching the coming to euery communion, the brethren left it to his owne observation of the causes that might hinder them from cominge and soe to deale wth them accordinglie.

Mr D. Cricke desired againe some aduise, how he shuld deale wth some disordered persons in his churche. Mr D. Chapman was entreated to talk wth them.

Mr. Negus desired the brethren to take knowledge of his course taken to entringe the benefice of Lee, if they liked it to allow of him, if not to admonish him, thanking god for the benefits of the meeting, acknowledging he had failed in many thinges, and craued their praiers to god for him.

Mr. Dowe moued that Mr Harleston might be talked wthall for keping an extraordenary assemblie, for wch he was like to be indicted, and soe good men might come into trouble by it: It was answered the assemblie was dissolued and that it was not to be delt in by us, but if any going that waie shuld talk wth Mr. Harleson about it, yt were well.

Mr. Newman renewed his former matter and desired further to knowe, how farre a Pastor might safelie reade in the Common

praier book and hazard his liberty in the mynisterie for the same. this had been handled before, and was referred to further consideration.

The next place appointed was at Mr Sandes house in Boxforde. The Speaker Mr. Lewis [1] and Mr.[2] Farrar, Moderator.

[1585.] The 7 of June was our 31 meeting at Boxforde.

At this tyme Mr D. Chapman signified that there wold be a meeting at Cambridge of diuerse godlie men, wher it were expedient that Questions shuld be moued to them to haue their iudgment how farre we might reade in the booke of common prayer. 2. to craue their aduise how to prevent the mischieff that is like to ensue by some that make a Schisme and rent from or churche. And lastlie whether we may use the Bishops and come to their Courtes. the motion was liked well of, and the persons to be chosen for this busynes were to be thought upon against the next meetinge.

Mr Sandes moued that some thinges might be considered of for the helpinge forward of discipline the next parliament, it was liked of, but deferred.

The next place appointed was at Barfold at Mr. Tilneys house. The speaker Mr Stocton. the Moderator Mr Parker. the daie of Meeting to be this daie three weekes upon some speciall considerations.

[1585.] The 28 of June was our 32 meetinge.

Where it was agreed upon the Questions before propounded that Mr Newman and Mr Sandes shuld deale wth the brethren at Cambridge, to know their iudgments in the same.

Tutching Mr. D. Crickes question for disordered persons, it was said, that he shuld use all meanes to draw them forwarde and to wyne them, and if not to excommunicate them after longe patience accordinge to or saviours rule, but some thought that first he shuld rather desire the chieff and forwardest in the congregation to deale wth them, and if they prevailed not, to convent them before some magistrate as raylers, and soe to punishe them.

The next place was appointed to be at Coxall at Mr Newmans house the speaker Mr Taye. Mr D. Chapman moderator.

[1] 'Farrar' struck out. [2] 'Newman' struck out.

[1585.]

The 2 August was our 33 meeting at Coxall.

ffor the questions that shuld haue bene moued to the brethren at Cambridge Mr Newman did signifie, that ther was nothing done in them there, but that the brethren purposed to meete againe, and at the same meeting Mr Knewstubb was thought fittest to deale wth the brethren that shuld be there assembled, having the questions delyuered unto him.

ffor M Lewis his matter before propounded, Mr D. Chapman and Mr D. Crick and Mr. Taie are appointed to deale wth Mr Northie [1] and the Bailiffes about it.

Mr Stocton asked this question, whether the contents before the Chapters might be read, many of them being collected wronge: some debate was of it emong the brethren, some liked bicause they had used them, and saw no cause yet to moue them to the contrarie; some disliked them, but nothing was done in it but referred it to further consideration.

Mr D. Crick wold know some sounde reason whie faith and hope shuld be earthlie benefits, and shuld not last in godes Kingdome being said by thapostle Paull 1 Cor. 13. to be [2] permanent, and be opposed against thother temporall giftes. it was not debated of.

Mr Tay moued the brethren to consider what course he might take to obteyne one for to read a Lecture at Layer [3] on the Sabboth daie, it was deferred.

Mr. D. Chapman desired the brethren to enquire and consider of some fitt man for the pastors place in Bedforde and to name him to him: he also moued the brethren that there might be a faste used considering the iudgment present upon us, wch was yelded unto, and the daie appointed for it to be this daie forthenight at Dedham at Mr D. Chapmans house.

The speakers were these Mr D. Chapman. Mr D. Cricke. Mr Sandes. and the Moderator Mr Taye. And tutching or usuall meeting the place at Pelden at Mr. Taies, the speaker. Mr Parker. Mr Lewis the Moderator.

Our Extraordinary meeting being ye 34 was ye 16 of August at Dedham. [1585.]

[1] *See* Introduction.

[2] 'oppose' struck out.

[3] 'Layer' and 'Laier' = Laingdon (?). Davids, p. 100, and Newcourt. But *see* Teye to Parker, *infra*, p. 83.

w^ch[1] daie was spent in praier and fastinge as was before prescribed, being the XVJ of August bicause we wold haue it before o^r usuall meetinge. The thinges moued were these. ffirst M^r Taie moued to haue a lecture read at Layer as before. 2. M^r Dowe moued for M^r Wilcockes gathering.[2] 3. M^r Sandes craued that some aduise might be geuen to the brethren in Lankishire tutching the Keping of that Commission they had to punish fyne[3] and sue for more power rather than to lose it: these were deferred till the next meetinge.

[1585.] The 6 of Sept. was our 35 meeting at Peldon.

Where M^r Taie moued the brethren to haue a lecture at Laier, it was granted unto him by the brethren, that they wold helpe him and come together in concourse as they shuld be requested to preache.

M^r Farrar desired the brethrens counsell whether he might baptise the child of a good christian that was come with his wieff from another towne wher an ill minister was bicause he wold not haue it baptised of him, and it was borne in Mr Farrars parishe, the most thought there was daunger in it, and wished him to refuse it.

M^r D. Chapman desired the brethren earnestlie for supplie to M^r Wilcocke more liberallie, laying out his state by a letter of his sent to him and to M^r D. Cricke and the rest of the brethren wherin euery man promised to doe what he coulde.

M^r Stocton moued the brethren to aduise him what he might doe in a matter wherunto he was entreated and called by common consent, viz, to accept of a livinge: the brethren thought it very convenient he shuld accept the calling if his affection stood unto the people and that he might haue a lawfull callinge to them, and quietly passe through the B^s handes.

Tutching M^r Sandes his question moued at o^r former fast the 16 of Aug: bicause he was not present at this meeting, nothing was said to yt. The next place at Boxforde at M^r birdes house. M^r Bird speaker. M^r Morse Moderator.

[1] 'by' struck out.

[2] This meeting cannot be definitely identified.

[3] A High Commission to the Lancashire clergy against papists. The Puritans objected to the High Commission only when it was directed against themselves.

The 4 of October was our 36 meeting at Boxforde. [1585.]

At this tyme Mr Sandes tooke Mr Birdes place excusing his father by sundrie busines that he had, so as he could not performe it.

The Questions moued were these. ffirst Mr. Tay sent a letter by Mr Lewis wherin he desired the brethren to helpe him this terme for the supplie of his place, and desired that Mr Morse might be delt wthall for it, the brethren laid it upon Mr Morse and he accepted it.

Mr Stocton desired the brethrens aduise whether he might not send letters agayne to Kent about his livinge, his letters being perished by the way, it was answered that he mighte.

Mr D. Cricke asked how he might deale wth some untoward persons in his Church. it was answered ether he might convent them before some Justice, or present them at their leete for absence from the Churche, or compleyne of them to the B. for redresse.

The place appointed was at Barfold at Mr D. Crickes house the speaker Mr Tilney, the moderator Mr Dowe.

The 8 of November was our 37 Meeting at Barfold. [1585.]

Where Mr Sandes propounded this for his father, whether he might not geue ouer his place to a third man being aged himself. it was spoken of but nothing concluded.

Mr D. Chapman spake of the Clothiers setting their Woadfats on the Sabboth daie: for this order was taken, that euery one shuld deale wth the godliest of that trade,[1] and to seeke out the best waie that might be taken for that matter.

Mr Newman craued the brethrens allowance for a catechisme that he had made for his people, ther was nothing concluded for it.

Mr Tilney moued this, whether he might allow and admitt[2] the children of those to baptisme that did refuse the lordes supper. it was not debated bicause the same in effect had bene handled before.

The next place appointed was at Langham at Mr Farrars house, Mr Birde Speaker, Mr Tay moderator.

The 6 of December was our 38 Meeting at Langham. [1585.]

Where Mr Dowe was speaker supplying Mr Birdes place

[1] 'to' struck out. [2] 'of' struck out.

bicause he came late: At this tyme, M^r D. Cricke desired the brethrens aduise in this: for one that had maryed his wyues sister, and was desirous to haue counsell for it, if it were thoughte a syne he wold leaue her: It was answered that the mariage was unlawfull and yt he liued in adulterie, but the brethren knowe not whether his motion came of conscience or of a carnall desire to haue another, and therfore wold not geue counsell in it.

M^r Morse moued the brethren that he might (haue) some better assurance than the brethrens charge for his preaching in M^r Taies place, lest he come into some trouble,[1] w^ch was deferred till the nexte meetinge.

M^r Sandes said they were troubled w^th Glouer,[2] who labored to hurt the people w^th his errours, it was reserued for further consultation.

M^r Dowe moued that when we had no speciall causes to deale in, some question of divinity might be propounded to the rest.

The place appointed to be at Stratford at M^r Morses house. the speaker M^r Birde, the Moderator M^r Farrar.

[1585/6.] The 3 of January was our 39 Meeting at Stratforde.

Where it was agreed upon that ther shuld be procured for M^r Morse as good assurance as might be for his place.

And as tutching Glover, wheras he was bounde by the Magistrate to appeare before the Bishopp, he is now released, upon conference to be had w^th him, and if he be not reformed [by] it, it is thought good by the brethren that the magistrate shuld be delte w^th for the conventing of him agayne before the Bishoppe.

Tutching the woad setting[3] it is referred to further conference.

Mr. D. Chapman moued this, that wheras M^r Morse had bene now a long tyme tried for his hability to teache, that he wold

[1] This is truly remarkable evidence: (1) that the conference considered that it had given a distinct authorisation; (2) that their own member considered it of no value and that it committed him to something illegal. The Puritans declared on oath in 1592 that they had done nothing not allowable by law.

[2] Edward Glover, a minister in Essex inclined to Brownism. S. Bredwell wrote, 1586, *A Detection of Edward Glover's Heretical Confection, &c., with an Admonition to the Following of Glover and Browne.* He was brought before the Archbishop, probably by the efforts of these ministers, was twice imprisoned, and set free in April 1586 at the intercession of Burghley. Strype, *Annals*, III. i. 634.

[3] *See* 37th meeting.

accept of a place to teach godes people now offred: the brethren thought very well of the motion and allowed it, but Mr Morse desired a tyme to consider of it.

Mr Newman desired counsell how farre a minister might goe to the hazarding of his ministry for the surplice, and other ceremonies, bicause of some good brethren that be in trouble for it, this was deferred till we might heare the aduise of other lerned brethren.

The next place appointed to be at Barfold in Hoglane at Mr Cockrels house the speaker Mr Morse. Mr D. Cricke moderator.

The 7 of Febru: was our 40 meeting at Barfolde. [1585/6.]

Where these thinges were propounded: ffirst Mr D. Chapman desired the brethren to giue him their aduise how to deale wth some that were seduced by Glover whether it were not necessary that some of them shuld come to Dedham to confirme the doctrine of Righteousness to faith. It was answered that they thought it meete that they shuld be first mildly delt withall by their ministers 2. if that wold not serue to convent them before some of the Congregation, and if that prevailed not, then after [our] saviors rule to convent them before the whole Churche and to lay open their errors, that the rest might not be hurte.

Mr D. Chapman also moued how he might deale wth some careles persons that had no regard of the word or Sacraments, it was said the same question had bene handled before, but their aduise now was to compleine to the magistrates.

Mr Lewis craued the brethrens aduise what course he might take to prevent the practise of Mrs Awdley for his removinge [1] out of his place, the gift of the benefice being in her hand, it was answered, that he shuld signifie to the people of his parish his mynd, and stirre them up to labour wth my Lorde Chanceler for the preventing of it, and to procure unto them a good minister.[2]

It was agreed upon at this meeting also, that Mr Morse shuld consider of his livinge at Belsted and of the people there, and to geue an answer of his determination.

It was at this tyme concluded upon that Mr Catlyn of Wenham

[1] 'of' crossed out.

[2] This and other examples in this book show how many of the petitions and intercessory letters came to be written. *See also* next meeting.

shuld be allowed as one of o^{r} companie, yf it could be perceyved by M^{r} Tilney that he did desire the same and will promise contynuance in it, and submit himself to the lawes that be prescribed to be done in o^{r} meetinges.

The next place at M^{r} Lewis his house in Colchester. The speaker M^{r} Newman. M^{r} Lewis moderator.

[1585/6.] The 7 of March was our 41 meeting at Colchester.

At this tyme M^{r} Catlyn was admitted one of o^{r} companie. M^{r} Tilney desired aduise how he might deale to kepe one out that went secretlie about to supplant him: he was conseyled to stirre up the chieff of his parishe to use all meanes to prevent it.

M^{r} D. Crick desired to know whether he might not publikelie pray for those that did single themselues from the Church, to commend them to the praiers of the Churche as men diseased and greatly needing it: some thought the Accõn wold be straunge, and that they shuld be proceeded against untill it shuld come to excommunication and then be praied for: but most yelded, that he might pray for them not naming them.

M^{r} Dowe asked counsell what he might doe frome James Anderson that goeth about as he feared wth letters from Glover or such as he is: he was aduise[d] to suppresse him if it might be and to be brought before the magistrate.

M^{r} D. Chapman moued the brethren for some order to be taken wth disordered persons but it was deferred.

The next place is at M^{r} Taies house in Layer: the speaker M^{r} D. Cricke, the moderator M^{r} Stocton. the tyme to be the weeke after Easter weeke.

[1586.] The 11th of April was our 42 meeting at Layer. 1586.

The questions moued were these. M^{r} D. Cricke did still compleyne of some disordered persons in their church, but[1] nothing was said to it.

M^{r} Sandes put the brethren in mynd that the tyme present thretned much misery to come, and thought it necessary for a fast to be appointed, it was deferred till the next meetinge.

The next place appointed was at[2] Boxford at M^{r} Sandes his house the speaker M^{r} Farrar the Moderator M^{r} Dowes and the tyme and day to be the second of May next.

[1] 'nothing' crossed out.

[2] 'Barfold at M^{r} Tilneys house' struck out.

The 2 of May was our 43 Meeting at Boxforde. [1586.

At this tyme it was agreed that the next meeting daie shuld be spent in prayer and fastinge, and the day to be the last of May a moneth hence. The next place to be at Barfold at M^r^ Tilneys house. The speakers at the fast to be these M^r^ Tay, Mr. Stocton, M^r^ Morse. The Moderator M^r^ Newman.

The 30 of May was the 44 meeting at Barfolde. [1586.]

M^r^ Tay moued this, what good course might be taken for the Bishops cominge for the preventing of the Church wardens othes; yt was said, they might sweare w^th^ protestacion: viz. that they wold doe any thinge [*that*] might stand w^th^ godes glory and the good of the church: and the lawyers haue said that the law did bynd to sweare to none other thinges then tutched piety and charitie.

M^r^ Sandes requested yt M^r^ Salmon pastor of Erwerton might be admitted as one of o^r^ company, yt was generally liked of, so that he might consider the gretnes of the iournies that he must take, and of his purpose to contynue, and yt he shuld yet be staied from cominge, to harken whether M^r^ Wright[1] do labor to procure such a like meeting about him as wee.

The next place appointed is M^r^ Dowes house at Stratford, the speaker M^r^ D. Chapman, the moderator M^r^ Birde, and the daie to be w^th^in one moneth vz the 27 of June.

The 27 of June was the 45 meeting at Stratforde. [1586.]

Where M^r^ D. Chapman shewed a letter that came from the ffrench churche[2] requiring aide and relieff, to w^ch^ euery one professed themselues willing to helpe toward it so much as they could.

Secondlie M^r^ D. Chapman desired to haue their testimony that it was agreed upon emongst them, that if Glover could be taken he shuld be offred to the magistrate.[3]

At this meetinge M^r^ gale was admitted to be one of o^r^ companye.

M^r^ Tay moued the brethren to consider the B^s^[4] coming on

[1] *See* note to the 27th meeting.

[2] In London, or all the Huguenots in France, or the Church of La Rochelle, often called in England 'the ffrench church'?

[3] Glover had been released in April 1586 the second time. *See* note to the 38th meeting.

[4] Bishop of London, Aylmer.

visitacon, what we shuld doe if he shuld moue subscription: it was answered, nothing could be said of it, till they knew how he wold deale.

Mr D. Cricke required the brethrens aduise for Mr Stocton accepting of Newton livinge, wch they all agreed unto.

The next place appointed to be at Mr Parkers house in Dedham. The Speaker Mr Catlin: the moderator Mr Tilney.

[1586.] The 8 of August was our 46 meeting at Dedham.

where the matter moued before for the relieff of the ffrench church was considered of, and it was thoughte meete not to be done publikelie bicause the people were not so much charged,[1] but to deale privately wth the best affected.

Mr Taie required that there might (be) another fast as other brethren had done, wherto it was answered of most, that those that thought good of such an exercise might doe it, but yet none to undertake it wthout shewing their reasons to the brethren, that they might aduise them in it.

Mr Sandes at this tyme shewed the reasons that moued them unto it in Suffolk. 1. the scarcity of all thinges. 2. the little good it had wrought in men. 3. the state of the ffrenche churche, and the matters of the lowe cuntreis and generallie the contempte of the gosple, how beit, it was not thought meete that any fast shuld be used as yett.

At this meeting Mr Salmon admitted, and the orders of the meeting read unto him, and unto Mr Gale whereunto they readelie consented.

The next place appointed to be at Mr Newmans house of Coxall: the speaker Mr Parker: Mr Tay moderator.

[1586.] The 5 Sept. was our 47 Meeting at Coxall.

Where Questions were moued tutching supplications to be made to the Counsell, it was thought good that one shuld be made for many Townes, and Maulden to haue one by itself.

The place of the next meeting to be at Boxforde at Mr Birdes. The speaker Mr Salmon: and Mr. Catlin moderator.

[1] Does this mean that these ministers with their vestries levied taxes on their parishes, or does it refer to the State taxes?

The 2 of October was our 48 meeting at Boxforde. [1586.]
where a daie for thexercise of praier and fastinge was appointed to be the next meetinge: The speakers Mr Stocton, Mr Lewis and Mr Sandes: and the Moderator Mr Farrar. the place to be Dedham at Mr D. Chapmans house.

The 10 of October was our 49 meeting at Dedham. [1586.]
wher praiers and fastinge were used as before was concluded. Ther was nothing now moued. The next place is at Mr Farrars of Langham. Mr Dow speaker, Mr Lewis moderator.

The 7 of Novemb: was our 50 meeting at Langham. [1586.]
Mr D. Chapman moued the brethren that a letter might be written to the godlie brethren in London who though they were forward in furthering of discipline yet [1] a letter [2] wold encourage them to be more zealous, and we shuld be moued the rather to write bicause some of them are of mynd to aske a full reformation and to accept of none if they had not all, but the iudgment of the brethren was that some reformation might be accepted of if it were graunted.[3]

Secondlie he required that in the letter they shuld put them in mynd of Mr Cartwrights booke of the Confutation of the Rhemish Testament,[4] and to further yt unto the presse.

Mr Sandes moued whether he might not haue a Thankesgivinge on the Queens daie [5] as before they had a faste, it was deferred.

Mr Tilney moued the brethren to consider for a faste, it was answered that we expecte direction from the brethren at London and soe doe deferre it a tyme.

The next place appointed to be at Hoglane for Mr Stocton: The Speaker Mr Newman. Mr Morse moderator.

The 5 of December was our 51 Meeting at Barfolde. [1586.]
Where Mr Dowe was speaker in Mr Newmans steede.
The matters propounded were these. ffirst Mr D. Chapman

[1] 'by' struck out. [2] 'to' struck out.

[3] No better evidence is possible that the Puritan party did not agree within itself, and that the assertions of the leaders are little more than their personal opinions or what they thought men would support.

[4] *See* letters, pp. 77–80, and the notes to them.

[5] November 17, the day of Elizabeth's accession. Strype, *Aylmer*, p. 68.

desired the brethrens handes to that letter he sent to Mr D. Cricke in his owne name wch was graunted him.

Mr Stocton moued that we shuld commend this or state of dearthe unto god in our publike praiers.

Mr Farrar signified that he was come to the 3rd admonition,[1] it was said, that the matter was handled at Mr Birdes house and concluded that the Surplice shuld not be yelded unto bicause they sought to haue us yeld unto all the ceremonies.[2]

Mr Tilney desired aduise what he might doe to one, who having euer resisted his mynistry and countes him no minister nor their church noe Churche, whether he might mary him except he wold confesse his faulte: it was answered, that it was daungerous for him to denie him mariage, and better to let the Congregation forbid yt, and soe stoppe the askinge of it, or to drawe him by this meanes into the Church, and to signify before the sermon to him that he wold not mary him except he did confesse his faulte, and soe to let him consider of it till the sermon were done.

Mr Dowe moued whether the Church wardens shuld not doe their duties to prevent such as offend (as not cominge to Church or Communion,) for feare of hazarding his mynistery by their compleints against him, it was thought meete that they shuld kepe their othes.

Mr Farrar moued that his brother of Holbrooke mighte be admitted one of or company, wch was yelded unto by the brethren: Mr D. Cricke moued that there might be a disputation, it is deferred.

The next place at Stratford at Mr Morses House: The speaker Mr Newan. The Moderator Mr Salmon.

[1586/7.] The 2 of January was our 52 Meeting at Stratforde.

At this tyme, Mr Newman moued whether he mighte not ioigne in another conference wth some good brethren that did request yt of him, and that he wold be altogether wth them: he professed he wold not doe yt without the brethrens likinge, de-

[1] By Canon Law he was admonished to do his duty, often specifically stated; then after a time, if he did it not, admonished again, and a third time, and then suspended or deprived.

[2] This is important. The bishops said that all they asked was that men should conform in a certain few essentials; probably they had no further designs, but clearly many men believed they had.

siringe to contynue still w^th^ us:[1] Secondlie he moued what course the ministers suspended for the surplice, and like to be suspended shuld take: yt was thought best that some gentlemen be moued to solicite the cause to the Counsell, and yt was decreed that M^r^ D. Chapman and M^r^ D. Cricke shuld go to my L. Riche[2] and to Sir Roberte Jermin[3] with letters from the brethren to that end.

M^r^ Morse moued whether he might not preach at M^r^ fordes of Butley[4] a tyme, being requested to exercise his guifte. It was granted to him, soe he did after proceed further, to accepte of a callinge there or els where.

The next place at M^r^ D. Crickes house in Barfold: M^r^ Tilney speaker. M^r^ Stocton moderator.

The 6 of Febru. was our 53 meetinge at Barfolde. [1586/7.]

Where M^r^ D. Chapman signified to the brethren what they did w^th^ S^r^ Roberte Jermin vz that he wold write to my Lord Riche to deale throughlie and effectually in that matter: M^r^ D. Cricke told the brethren that he shuld be moued to be of another meeting: yt was deferred till he shuld be moued.

Mr. Sandes moued, that if the same Questions should be propounded in other meetinges that be w^th^ us in ours and the brethrens iudgments shuld vary from us, how a man might kepe himself upright, it was deferred.[5]

Thirdlie M^r^ D. Chapman moued there might be a fast, if the tyme were such, as he feared yt was, and the state of the Church noe better than he heard, it was yelded unto by the brethren.

Mr. Parker moued what course a minister shuld take when

[1] *See* letters, p. 98.

[2] The chief favourer of the Puritans, owning presentations and advowsons in Warwickshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and elsewhere, and the patron of most of these men; he was in trouble with the Government on account of Robert Wright; he was later the famous Puritan Earl of Warwick. Strype, *Aylmer*, p. 54; *ibid. Annals*, iii. pt. i. 177–79; pt. ii. 228–236.

[3] Sir Robert Jermin, one of the influential justices of Suffolk, suspected in 1581 of being a favourer of Robert Browne, the sectary. Strype, *Annals*, iii. pt. ii. 172 *ibid.* iii. pt. i. 25–30. He was one of Leicester's dependents. The petitions mentioned are probably those printed by Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 81–83.

[4] *I.e.* in a private gentleman's house.

[5] The complete failure of the movement was due chiefly to this inability to agree, not merely to the interference of the State.

disorders be risen up in a Church, and be publikelie reproued, and the chiefe of the parish, and the officers delt w^th^ all whom it specially concernes to reforme them, and yet nothing is done, what then the minister shuld doe whether he shuld there cease, as having done his full duty.[1] deferred.

M^r^ Morse moued whether he shuld not desire the B^s^ allowance for his peace in that place he is in, it was thought best he shuld.

The next place of our meeting to be at Colchester at M^r^ Lewis his house. The speakers appointed for the fast to be M^r^ Parker: M^r^ Catlin and M^r^ Salmon and M^r^ D. Chapman moderator.

[1586/7.] The 6 of March was our 54 meeting at Colchester.

where praier and fastinge was used as before was appointed.

M^r^ Salmon moued whether M^r^ Farrer of Holbrocke shuld know any more of our meetinge, not hauing accepted of yt hetherto: his brother answered that he found noe readines in him bicause he wold not be tied to a place, the brethren required him to charge his brother to be silent.

M^r^ Lewis moued the brethren to haue their handes set to a writinge for confirmation of that w^ch^ they had alreadie set downe, that a Paster shuld haue his owne people:[2] much debating was of yt: some said yt was better to haue some or two delyuer yt in doctrine to the people, that course was thought daungerous of some. Some thought yt might be set downe generally that a paster shuld haue his people, that if another did at the same time preach, yet he shuld enioy his people. Others thought to geue handes except the people required yt, was to doe a thing very likelie daungerous: But it was said that if two or three of the brethren did againe talk w^th^ M^r^ Northie[3] and the people of it and could not prevaile, that then they shuld (give) him their iudgment in writinge under their handes and so yt was concluded.

[1] This was the second great cause of the failure of the movement, the inability of enforcing any of their orders. In the last analysis it meant that the people refused to support it. *See* meetings 65 and 73.

[2] Here the close connection, almost parallelism, in Congregationalism and Presbyterianism becomes apparent. Note has been made already of the close personal connection of Barrow, Greenwood, and Browne with these Puritans, while Penry and Udal, usually claimed by the Congregationalists, signed the 'Discipline.' *See* the 65th meeting.

[3] See *supra*, note to the 8th meeting.

Mr D. Chapman and Mr D. Cricke and Mr Tay were appointed to talk wth Mr Northie.

Mr Morse signified that the B. wold giue noe libertie to any to preache wthout presentacion to a place, and soe he could not goe to Butley.

Mr Tilney asked the brethrens aduise how to deale wth a fellow in his parish, who being denied the solempnisation of his mariage for his vile speeches against our Church, hath since gott himself maried by one Greenwood in a private house. yt was deferred.

Mr. D. Cricke moued what he might doe for an outrage committed in his absence being at Hadleigh, a mans wieff beatinge her husband: there was hereupon a man in womans attire and a woman in mans were caried on a cowle staff wth a drumme and Calyuer [1] and morise pikes [2] on mens shulders, he had vehemently inveighed against yt, and told them his credit was gretlie tutched in yt, but he wold know what he shuld further do in yt. yt was deferred.

Mr. Tay moued that the booke of discipline set downe by the brethren might be vewed and their iudgments giuen of it: [3] yt was deferred.

The next place is appointed to be at Peldon at Mr Tayes house. Mr Taie speaker. Mr. Sandes moderator.

The 3 of Aprill was our 55 meeting at Peldon. 1587. [1587.]

Where the matter that Mr Parker moued in the 53 meetinge before was in part handled, but not concluded but deferred. till or next meetinge to be better considered of. and yt was appointed that Mr D. Chapman and Mr Tay bring in their reasons for yt.

Mr D. Chapman and Mr D. Cricke moued Mr Northie for Mr Lewis his people, and he said, he wold not deale in yt.

Mr Tilneys matter, Mr D. Cricke, Mr Sandes, and Mr Taies Questions for vewing of the booke of discipline were deferred till some other tyme.

Mr D. Cricke moued the brethren to geue their aduise, whether Mr Stocton shuld leaue Nawton having bene at soe great charge and like to be at more, and none wold beare any part wth him, and yet having tried his right, yt was feared he shuld not be at quiet.

[1] *I.e.* caliver, a small hand firearm of the sixteenth century, fired without a rest.

[2] *I.e.* Morris pike.

[3] Compare Bancroft, p. 18.

yt was thought good he shuld moue some to talk wth M^{r} More. and if he wold not defend his righte and [1] beare his charge, then to leaue yt: Some thought it hard to leaue the people and make M^{r} More to begynne suite a fresh agayne. M^{r} Farrar moued the brethren to geue him aduise tutching his appearinge before the B: yt was said he shuld haue letters of Commendacon and soe goe to the meetinge of the brethren in London and haue their aduise:

M^{r} Lewis craued that since M^{r} Northie had bene dealt wthall, the people that left his ministerie might likewise be conferred wth-all: this was not consulted of.

The next place at M^{r} Sandes his house in Boxforde. The Speaker M^{r} Tilney. the moderator M^{r} D. Cricke.

[1587.] The 8 of May was our 56 meeting.

where my [2] Question was left undecided till the next meetinge bicause of M^{r} D. Chapmans and M^{r} Tayes absence:

M^{r} Sandes his question was delt in: viz that he might kepe himself upright in both meetinges, being free to yeld his iudgment as he had done before, but if he had yelded his hand to one thinge in one meetinge, if the same were propounded not to be urged to geue his hand againe, but to geue our handes tutchinge o^{r} iudgment in matters was not thought saffe in any respecte.

M^{r} Farrar moued what he might doe being ether presentlie to be suspended, or if he went not to be excommunicate, yt was thought best to tarie at home, and abide thexcommunication for soe he shuld gaine some longer tyme,[3] and he might be absolued by a Proctor: but some doubted whether by the worde he might be absolved by a Proctor.

The second Epistle of S. P. to Timothy was chosen at this meetinge to be enterpreted and order giuen to runne spedely ouer yt, delyuering the doctrine briellie, and passing ouer thexhortation, and onlie to stand upon some controversy betwene the Papists and us, and to handle them throughlie.

[1] 'defend' struck out.

[2] *I.e.* Parker's, of the 63rd meeting, one of the few personal touches in the long MS.

[3] Forty days before the writ Excommunicato Capiendo could issue out of Chancery to apprehend him. Articles of 1583 in Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 234; also Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, under 'Excommunication' (1763), p. 548.

The next place appointed to be at Mr Tilneys of Barfold. The speaker Mr Stocton. the Moderator Mr Dowes.

The 12. of June was our 57 meeting at Barfolde. [1587.]
Where my Question was deferred till the booke of discipline were vewed.

Mr Tay moued whether he shuld any longer contynue at Butley wthout authority, yt was said, yt was not saffe, nor convenient except he meant to take yt as his charge. and one said though the livinge were small, yet he might doe well to serue the Lorde in that place, supplying the want of that Church himself.

Mr Lewis craued the brethrens aduise what to doe for his Excommunication; he said his meaning was if he could not be released to craue a daie, and soe to make short not to be troubled to goe up euery terme: he was aduised to procure his libertie soe longe as he could thoughe it were painfull to him.[1]

Mr Sandes delyuered a message from the brethren of another company, who desired that some thinges might be communicated from these meetinges one to another, and that for the concludinge of the matter of discipline some helpe might be had from us. and that they had concluded of Mr D. Cricke and desired Mr Chapman to deale in yt. deferred till the next meetinge.

Mr. D. Chapman: what might be done wth the excommunications that were sent out: some said they might answere by a proctor:[2] others declared their practice in these places to be this, that if thexcommunication were against a notorious offender being obstinate they did it upon some holiday, but being some light fault they kept it in their handes and persuaded the partie to goe and end it. Some thought they might saie this much. The commissary hath sent out an Excommunication. Others thought bicause we were subiecte to their gouernmente in other thinges, they saw noe cause why they shuld not yeld in this except they shuld renounce the whole. Some thought it not safe to answer by a proctor, to let that be done by another which he wold not doe himself, so yt in thend it was concluded, that the aduise of some Lawyer shuld be asked how farre law did bind us to it.

[1] Apparently he had to subscribe things he did not believe.

[2] *I.e.* answer by a lawyer instead of in person. The proctor at civil law is the same as the attorney at common law.

The next place appointed to be at Erwerton at Mr Salmons house the speaker Mr Morse. the moderator Mr Parker.

[1587.] The 10 of July was our 58 meeting at Erwerton.

wher the matters depending before were left undecided, only Mr D. Chapman shewed a letter sent from the brethren about Braintree, desiring Mr Newman wholy: all said they were lothe to part with him, but if he thought he could be of bothe meetinges, and holde oute they wold be glad in it, but [1] if he wold goe they must be content.

Mr Salmon moued what he might doe wth xx s. that was gathered at a fast for the ffrench church whether he shuld send it to them or distribute it in his parish: yt was answered since it was soe published in the fast to be gathered for yt use, it shuld be employed to that use, except he shuld understand that the necessity of the ffrench churche were provided for, and then he might geue to the poore of his owne parishe.

The next place Wenham at Mr Catlins the speaker. Mr Lewis: the moderator Mr Newman.

[1587.] The 8 of August was our 59 Meeting at Wenham.

where first Mr D. Cricke wold knowe who shuld goe to the conference at Mr Fowles 22 August, he was unwilling to doe, yet at length it was laid upon him. The dealing wth the booke of discipline was deferred till the next meetinge bicause Mr Tay was now absent.

Mr Newman and Mr Lewis chosen and sent to deale in that generall meeting at Cambridge, the matters wherin they shuld deale to be considered of.

Mr D. Chapman moued that bicause many ministers were troubled for ceremonies and more like to be, there was great use of that question to be moued at that meeting how farre they might goe wth peace of conscience and the good of the Church.

Mr Tilney moued his matter of departure from Barfold: It was not thought good it shuld be openly debated, nor the matters betwene Mr D. Crick and him, or the Towne and him to be publikely delt in, but the cause to be deferred to Mr D. Chapman, Mr Newman and Mr Lewis, to Mr Dowe, Mr Farrar and Mr Sandes and by them to be determined if it could be. Mr [2] Farrar and

[1] 'he' struck out. [2] 'Chap' struck out.

Mr Parker moued the same yt D. Chapman[1] had done[2] before them.

Mr Catlin desired their praiers for his Church and people.

Mr Sandes craued the helpe of the brethren to Mr Justice Clenche to moue him, that if in his circuite the cause of a yong man that had gretlie abused one Mr Miggeley a preacher in Lankshire (by making libels against him) did come before him, he wold deale seuerelie in it. It was thought unmeete to deale in it the persons being soe far of. And some said that the Justices might take it ill to be told what to doe in their Offices, and soe they thought it good [not] to deale in it, except one could speak wth Judge Clenche personally of yt.

Mr Newman did freelie yeld his consent to be of or meetinge, bicause he could not be of both he more enclyned to be of us, and soe it was concluded that letters shuld be sent to Mr Rogers and the rest.[3]

The next place at Coxall at Mr Newmans the speaker Mr Gale. The moderator Mr Taye.

The 4 of September was our 60 meeting at Coxall. [1587.]

Where Mr Parkers motion before made and the former matters were deferred. Mr Tilney moued the brethren to geue him aduise tutching his departure whether he might warne the people of yt. some thought it meet and some thought otherwise.

The next place appointed at Mr D. Crickes house for Mr Gale. The Speaker Mr Farrar. the moderator Mr Sandes.

The 2 of Octob. was our 61 meeting at Barfold. [1587.]

wher Mr Tilneys matter for his departure was debated of, but nothing done, bycause the brethren were not possessed wth the matter. The Townesmen offered reasons by Mr D. Cricke and Mr Stocton against Mr Tilney, it was not thought good to deale in it, except they wold rest in their determination.

Mr Morse moued to goe to Butley a tyme till Mr ford might get him a preacher, it was graunted him.

[1] 'did' struck out. [2] 'at' struck out.

[3] The letter, dated June 7, 1587, from Richard Rogers and others asking that Newman become a member of their classis, is at p. 98. December 5, 1587, a joint letter, refusing to allow him to go, was sent, signed by Chapman, Crick, Teye, Farrar, Lewis, and Parker. This is long and of no especial value, and is not here given.

The next meetinge it is appointed to be at Dedham at Mr Parkers house and the tyme to be spent in praier and fastinge. The speakers Mr D. Chapman. Mr Lewis, and Mr Sandes, and Mr D. Cricke Moderator.

[1587.] The 6 of Novemb. was our 62 Meeting at Dedham.

Where the whole tyme was spent in praier and fastinge. the tyme wold not geue leaue to debate of any matters.

The next place of meeting appointed to be at Langham at Mr Farrars house. Mr D. Chapman speaker. Mr. Catlin moderator.

[1587.] The 4 of December was our 63 meetinge at Langham.

At which meetinge I was absent and knowe not what was propounded.

The next place was appointed to be at Mr D. Chapmans house in Dedham and the tyme to be spent in praier and fastinge. The speakers Mr D. Cricke. Mr Tay and Mr Sandes. The Moderator Mr D. Chapman.

[1587/8.] The 8 of Jaun: was our 64 Meetinge at Dedham.

Where praier and fastinge was used. A publike fast was agreed upon to be very necessary and first to conferre wth the Auncients of our parishes about yt, and they to intimate it to the rest, and the manner how was talked of whether many Churches together ioigning in one or euery Church seuerallie, yt was answered it was not necessary, that euery Church shuld haue a fast, the little Churches might ioigne with the greater. And for the daie yt was thought to be on the Lecture daies[1] in euery Church wch some liked best; others said that a care must be had of the poore that they in this hard tyme might not be kept from their worke.[2] It was answered that there shuld be a contribution geuen them to helpe them.

The next place at Mr Morses of Stratford, Mr Salmon speaker. Mr Morse moderator.

[1] Usually Thursday.

[2] In general the people refused, from economic and not religious reasons, further to observe the holy days or fasts (Consistory Court Books in Diocesan Registries MSS.) The objection here meant that unless paid for the time lost from their work, the people would not come to the fast.

The 5 of Febru. was our 65 Meeting at Stratforde. [1587/8.]

At w^ch^ tyme M^r^ Stocton asked the brethren counsell what he might doe w^th^a froward person of his parish being the Churchwarden, he purposed to mynister the Communion, and if he should refuse him yt wold hazard his peace, it was deferred till the next tyme.

M^r^ D. Cricke moued the brethrens counsell tutching his calling to be pastor of Barfold. Some thinges were spoken by some in dislike of the peoples course in reiecting and receyving their pastors w^th^out counsell of others,[1] but the most thought it fitt for him to undertake that Charge.

M^r^ Lewis moued, what he might doe for his matter soe often propounded to them whether he might not receiue another calling being offred him, deferred.

M^r^ Parker moued, what he might doe for supplie of his place being suspended by the B. of London.

M^r^ Newman desired to know whether he might not retayne another under him that wold accept of the surplice and read service. deferred till they heard from other brethren.

The next place appointed to be at Layer at M^r^ Taies house. M^r^ Tay speaker. M^r^ Farrar, moderator.

The last of March was our 66 meeting at Layer Hall. 1588. [1588.]

Where M^r^ Tay moued in his exercise that the brethren wold consider whether the B^s^ were anie longer to be tolerated or noe:[2] not delt in.

At this tyme M^r^ D. Cricke sent his letter by M^r^ Gale requiringe the brethren to consider of his suite, to haue one to preach at his election to the pastoral charge at Barfolde. this was laid by consent on M^r^ D. Chapman and he undertooke yt.

The next place to be at Barfold at M^r^ D. Crickes house. The speaker M^r^ Dowe. M^r^ Salmon moderator.

The 6 of May was our 67 Meeting at Barfolde. [1588.]

Where M^r^ Catlin propounded what course to take w^th^ one, who

[1] This is Congregationalism, proving again the very close relation of it to Presbyterianism at this early stage.

[2] The like produced from the Churchmen this comment: 'In respect of their conversation they are said to be humble and lowly in outward show. . . Thier mouths do speak proud things and swelling words of vanity. . . They are bold and stand in their own conceit' (Bancroft's Sermon at Paul's Cross).

being forbid to sweare in a matter that he was ignorant of, yet did yt: whether he might admitt him to the Communion. It was answered that he was to serche whether the man sware to the facte, or for the person that it is for the creditt of the man wth whom he sware being persuaded that the man wold take a true othe: if he did yt rashlie he was to be admonished, if of purpose he was periured and the law wold convicte him [and] he might be indicted.

M^{r} Salmon moued how he might know a witche, it was thought fittest to geue it ouer to some Justice to examyne it, and that there must be some usuall experience of euell effectes to ensue of their displeasure and some presumption of the death of man or beast: some said she might be found out by serche in her bodie, some thought that to be fancy in the people easilie conceiving such a thinge and to be reproued in them. he moued also whether he shuld kepe his fast, it was deferred. He moued also whether boyes of xvj yeares of age might put on their hattes in the Church, it was thought that the custome of the Church where they were was to be regarded. some said it was to be considered of whether it were unlawfull: some did saie, it was in such inconvenient and to be reproued in them.

The next place at M^{r} Dowes house in Stratforde. M^{r} Newman speaker. Mr. Catlin moderator.

[1588.] The 2 of June was our 68 meeting at Stratforde.

Where M^{r} Lewis enterpreted the word for M^{r} Newman.

M^{r} Lewis propounded whether he might weare the surplice, rather than forsake his mynistery, the answer was made generally that he shuld not yeld, A more full answer to be deferred till we heard from o^{r} brethren.

M^{r} Sandes moued whether the course of the B^{s} were such and of such moment, that they were not to be thought of as brethren, and soe to be delt wthall in our publike and in o^{r} private speeches and praiers, it was debated of but not concluded.

The next place appointed to be at M^{r} Sandes house in Boxforde the 24 June, The speaker M^{r} Newman. the moderator M^{r} Lewis.

[1588.] The 24 of June was our 69 meetinge at Boxford.

The Question propounded the meeting before by M^{r} Sandes is committed to M^{r} D. Cricke M^{r} Newman and M^{r} Tay to determyne of against the next meetinge.

The next place appointed to be at Erwerton at Mr Salmons house. The speaker Mr Catlin, the moderator, Mr Parker.

The 5 of Aug. was our 70 meeting at Erwerton. [1588.]

Where nothing was handled, but D. Cricke acquainted the brethren wth a confession of faith made by a woman of his parish, who desired to know whether he might admitt her to the Communion upon her confession or noe.[1] it was referred to himself.

The next place at Coxall at Mr Newmans house, the speaker Mr Morse, the moderator, Mr Newman.

The 2 of September was our 71 meeting. [1588.]

Where Mr Dowe enterpreted the worde for Mr Morse, ther was nothing propounded. The next place at Wenham at Mr Catlins. The speaker Mr Morse. The moderator Mr Tay.

The 7 of October was our 72 meeting at Wenham.

Where Mr Lewis was moderator for Mr. Tay. Mr Catlin desired to know how he might deale wth a couple of persons that were in hatred one against thother for wordes defamatory, viz. saying that he had killed a sheepe; whether he might admitt them to the Communion, it was answered if they wold professe loue one to another he might, bicause he cannot worke loue but onlie admonish them of the daunger of it, but if they be in open hatred the booke warrantes him not to receiue them. Secondlie he moued what he shuld doe wth some froward poore men that were euery way disordered: It was answered he must admonish them and if they wold not accept of it to accompt them as none of his flocke, but yet still to tell them of the daunger and misery wherin they stoode. Thirdlie he said he had warned a Communion and willed the people to resorte to be examyned and they wold not, what shuld he doe in it. it was answered he shuld let it alone, and still persuade them to it denouncing godes iudgments if they wold not accept of that mercy, but depriue themselues of it.

Mr Dow moued what shuld be done wth a wicked man that did

[1] That is, had a simple minister power to admit members of the Church? This was the logical conclusion of the 'calling and ordering' of ministers by the Classis, but no Puritan ever admitted he took it. (*See* the examinations 1591–93 in Strype, *Annals* and *Whitgift*.) Here again is Congregationalism. *See* the 75th meeting.

beate his wieff and yt was commonly knowen, whether he shuld be receyved to the Communion w^th^out publike confession, it was deferred for this tyme.

The next place of meeting at Barfold at M^r^ D. Cricke house for M^r^ Gale. The speaker was M^r^ Stocton, the moderator M^r^ Sandes.

[1588.] The 4 of Nov. was our 73 meeting at Barfolde.

Where nothing of any weight was delt in.

The next place appointed to be at Dedham at M^r^ Parkers house. M^r^ D. Cricke speaker. M^r^ Sandes, moderator.

[1588.] The 2 of Decemb. was our 74 meeting at Dedham.

M^r^ Stocton at this tyme propounded how he shuld deale w^th^ a yong man that had gott into the house of an honest man, he and his wieff being abroade and bene w^th^ his maide in her bed chamber till he was espied at a window, it was answered that the M^r^ of the house had good matter against him, and he might suspend him from Communion till he saw fruits of repentance.

M^r^ Sandes moued whether we shuld not make solempne profession of our thankes to God for the late great delyuerance of us from the Spaniarde,[1] as we did make solempne praiers, the most thought noe, bicause they had done it alreadie in their Churches publikely.

The next place at Langham, at M^r^ Farrars house: the speaker M^r^ Farrar. The moderator M^r^ D. Cricke.

[1588/9.] The 13 of January was our 75 meeting at Langham.

M^r^ Parker desired the brethrens iudgments in these two points whether a pastor were bounde by virtue of his office to visite euery particular family in his charge nothwithstanding his publike teachinge, so that if he do it not he omittes a duty: some desired this might be practised and not made a question whether it shuld be done or noe. others said o^r^ publike calling of the people to and admonishing of them, discharged us from such a burden. Others were of this mind that beside our publike teaching, we shuld take all occasions to admonish privately[2] whersoeuer we mett them that had need of that helpe, though we went not to euery house.

[1] Note how late this was. The Armada was defeated in the end of the July preceding.

[2] 'whether' struck out.

The seconde thinge he moued, was this, what we might accompt to be a competent knowledge for a Communicant, w^{ch} was deferred.

M^{r} D. Cricke moued a question tutching Churchwardens whether they and their offices were lawfull, it was not concluded.

M^{r} Lewis toke his leaue of the brethren at this tyme being called to St. Edmonds burye. There was a fast concluded to be holden the next meetinge.

The place appointed for it to be at Dedham at M^{r} D. Chapmans house. The speakers, M^{r} D. Chapman. M^{r} Sandes, and M^{r} Morse. The Moderator M^{r} Dowe.

The third of February was our 76 meeting at Dedham. [1588/9.]

The tyme was spent in praier and fastinge, and noe other causes handled.

The next place at Stratford at M^{r} Morses. the speaker M^{r} Tay. The Moderator M^{r} Newman.

The 3 March was our 77 meeting at Stratforde. [1588/9.]

Where M^{r} D. Crickes question was debated of, and he required to set downe his reasons, and he shuld heare the iudgment of the brethren further. At this tyme M^{r} Gale entred the Scholo of Dedham and craued the brethrens prayers for him.

The next place at Barfold at M^{r} D. Crickes the speaker M^{r} Catlin, the moderator M^{r} Parker.

The 7 of Aprill was our 78 meeting at Barfolde. 1589. [1589.]

Where M^{r} Stoctons motion tutching his benefice was handled and nothing els.

The next place at Boxford at M^{r} Sandes house, the speaker M^{r} Catlin, the moderator M^{r} Birde.

The 5 of May was our 79 Meeting at Boxforde. [1589.]

Where M^{r} Parker desired of the brethren that when they censured any brother that did enterprete the scriptures before them, they wold delyuer their iudgments of his labors to the partie himselfe bicause he thought[1] it an iniury that all shuld know his fault and not he himselfe, w^{ch} leaveth an illconceite of the speaker in the mindes of the rest it may be wthout cause, he being able to resolue the doubt if any were, or to answere for himself to their contentation.

[1] 'I think' crossed out.

It was answered, that all were not of his mynd, to be shamed or rebuked before all, and therefore they thought it best that some one of the brethren shuld tell the speaker of his fault if any were, but it was concluded it shuld be better considered of them when the next occasion was offred.

The next place at Erwerton at M^r^ Salmons house. M^r^ Parker speaker and M^r^ Salmon moderator.

[1589.] The 2 of June was our 80 meeting at Erwerton.

Wher M^r^ Salmon moued whether he might baptise the child of a straunger an Irish woman who was there delyuered of a child, it was said noe bicause she could not delyuer to him an accompt of her faith and he could not tell whether it were begott in lawfull mariage. We now agreed of a fast to be holden the Sabboth seven-night after this our meetinge to be holden at euery one of our churches, soe many as were then present.

The next place was appointed at layer at M^r^ Tayes. The speaker M^r^ Newman and the moderator M^r^ Tay.

Thus longe contynued through godes mercie this blessed meetinge and now yt ended by the malice of Satan, some cause of it was compleints against us preferred to the B. of London for w^ch^ cause I was called up to London and examyned of it;[1] but the chiefest cause was the death of some of o^r^ brethren and their departure from us to other places.

Praised be god for euer.

[1] *See* Bancroft, p. 16.

LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE 'MINUTE BOOK'[1]

Notes of M^r^ Sandes speeches on the use of the Sabboth. f. 237 a.

'That ther is a Sabboth I do alsoe frely confesse: that the churche is at liberty to change the day, although I professe myself ready to be informed yet me thinkes yt w^ch^ is said doth not satisfy me.

1. ffor as farre as I can conceyue, this first reason cannot be stronge, for the persons in the worshipp of god may not be chaunged and the like may be said of diuerse other thinges, yet is not religion tyed to them.

Methinks this also doth not alwaies hold, for many thinges in the pollicy of the Church ther be w^ch^ it is not in mans power to alter, as the generall matter of the government etc. by this, except I be deceyved, we throw o^r^ selues downe before the aduersaries of the Church gouerment. . . . The thinge brought here to confirme the proposition serueth not except all pollicie be shutt out for though it be granted yt ther was some ceremony in it, yet doth it not followe yt nothing concerning a settled 7 day was commanded. . . . Besides when this daie w^ch^ we now hold hath his especiall name thapostles themselues putting it upon it and is called the lordes day and as this daie the Resurrection of Christ is said to be accomplished, I thinke this maketh something to the strength herof. . . .

But I should reason thus: that w^ch^ is expresly commanded not for offence nor for toleration in the Church yt must be observed . . . Againe yt w^ch^ no Church hath euer bene bold to breake no

[1] These papers are between folios 237 a and 269, many of which are of little historical value, being long doctrinal disputes. Selections have been made from some of these and many letters printed in full. Space would not allow printing all. These are still in Parker's handwriting.

not euen the papistes w^ch^ haue transposed all thinges, that may not newly [by] anie particular church be chaunged, but this is such. . . .

So that methinketh (wherein I professe no resolution but in what I hope willinge to be enstructed) yet the sabboth of the 7 day giuen in Paradise when the pure state of the Church needed not these ceremonies and rudiments and renewed with the rest of the 10 words in Horeb afore the ceremonies were ordeyned, is cleared from ceremony.'

'On the Sabbath.'[1]

That w^ch^ is alledged against the confirmation of my proposition is not of force against my proposition. That a matter of mere pollicy and order might be altered: w^ch^ maie appeare by adding the Assumption and conclusion unto y^e^ proposition. The generall matter of gouernmente cannot be altered. But the generall matter of gouernment is a matter of mere pollicy and order. So a matter of meere pollicy and order may not be altered. In w^ch^ Sillogisme the Assumption is false and doth in very deed throw us down before the aduersaries of Church gouernment against whom we maynteyne yt the generall matter of gouernment is an essential part of a reformed church, and not a matter of meere pollicy and order. . . .

If it (the Sabboth) were not ceremoniall only, then must it be morall alsoe for Judiciall it was not. If it had bene morall then the day could not haue bene chaunged unto another, for that of the law w^ch^ was once morall, contynueth soe for euermore and is not subiect unto any change. Wher you say the practise of the apostles is proof sufficient to establish this day, as the lordes facte to establish thother, concluding as I think hereon, yt this day is commanded, I say that it was not the lordes resting on that day yt did establish the daie unto them, but the commandment, wherto he addeth strength by an argument taken from his owne facte, now if this day had a commandement then the fact of thapostles shuld do as much to persuade unto the keping of it as the lorde did. . . .

[1] Apparently by Parker himself. Very long (ff. 242–47), confused, and not valuable.

(He discusses at very great length, in a refutation of Sandes's position, the character of the Sabboth, on which day it should fall, the length of it, the rest to be had on that day, &c., how much work might be done on it. Both this paper and Sandes's are somewhat unintelligible, because both are a series of statements upon certain points or propositions which are not set down.—ED.)

LETTERS.[1]

Edmund Chapman to Thomas Cartwright.[2] (the 4 meeting.) f. 248.

. . . [Protestations of affection and friendship, his admiration for Cartwright's ability etc. He is glad Cartwright has asked to hear from him.] . . .

And where may I better begyne than at the cause of yo^{r} smarte, w^{ch} was not any affinity you euer had wth that marre matter marten, for I am a witnes beside a thowsand other, what small pleasure you euer tooke in such inventions: but yo^{r} earnest and open profession of grieff for the wante of perfecte comlines and bewty in this English spouse of yo^{r} maister, which you desired and laboured according to the best of y^{r} skill and power to haue made more pure and amiable in his eie. Now that this yo^{r} zealous endevoure is noe better taken nor of some of your fellow freinds of this bridegroome, yt may well adde unto yo^{r} grieff, but yt may not take away all yo^{r} comforte, seeing the bridegroome will not soe much waighe, what you haue done for him as what you mente to doe, nor how yo^{r} endevors were taken by his other servantes, as how they were to be taken. And that the more rebuke you susteyne for his sake, the more honor he will geue you one day, if you still contynue faithfull to him, loving to his spowse, and seeke also soe much as lieth in yow to be at peace wth the rest of his household servantes, how soeuer they be displeased wth yow for a tyme as mistakinge that w^{ch} by yow was gratiously entended. And what though now after a second vew of yo^{r} proceedinge in this great cause of Church gouerment, yow find that some thinges are not uniustly found fault wthall, yet oughte not that much [to] afflicte you, seeing yow are not the first man of fame, lerninge and piety, that haue confessed and retracted some error, if the substantiall and mayne pointes of yo^{r} worke stande. Regard not soe

[1] All of these are copies by Parker, made apparently from the originals.

[2] Thomas Cartwright; *see* Introduction.

much the disgrace that may happen in matter, forme or proportion . . . [he consoles him by examples from Scripture]. . . . Therefore let yt not seeme any great matter in yo^{r} eies if you see now more then yow did at the first. If you haue profitted all this while [if the worke were to begyne againe yow would mend some peece of the matter or manner of yt] compte yt rather a large consolation and ioy to yo^{r} harte, that by you as an instrument some good thinges haue bene put forwarde, some euell discouered and begon to be reformed. And what know yow or me whether all the fruites of yo^{r} labers be yet risen and sprunge up, or lie still closse and hidden under the grounde, bicause of the stormy and sharpe seasons and winterlike wether. . . . You haue no cause to repente that euer you tooke yt in hande. . . .

Yours in Christe Jesus euer by his grace,

EDMUNDE CHAPMAN.

f. 248 b To our most reuerend brother and fellow minister M^{r} Thomas Cartwrighte paster to the Church of the English Merchauntes at Middleborough.

In wrestling with brethren who haue set themselues wth all their power to uphold those Romishe windshaken and ruynous walles,[1] wherwth the goodly Orchard of the lord amongst us is compassed, not to the keping out, but to the letting in of all savage beastes that that (*sic*) seeke to roote up and make havocke of the pleasante plantes that growe there, and to deface all that bewty w^{ch} yt hath, what strength is in yo^{r} armes and legges if the favorers of the same cause wth you shuld not wth all thankfulnes to god acknowledge, yet the aduersaries silence (of whom though now and then one shew that he wold bite if he could barketh and brawleth in some corners, yet none is found willinge as before to undertake the shoringe and proppinge up of that rotten buildinge, w^{ch} the good hand of god by yow, haue made to bende almost to the grounde) doth sufficiently proclayme. Now Sir. yt remayneth that accordinglie, you shuld cause the enemies of us all to feele the deadlie stroke of your hand, in smiting of the head of that ill

[1] The extreme contrast in tone between this joint and semi-public epistle and the private letter of Chapman's is noticeable. *See also* another letter, the same to the same, p. 81.

favoured and mishapen birth (the Jesuits Translation,)[1] w^ch^ after soe many yeares travell they haue at lengthe broughte forth unto us: wherin also though a monster, they and theirs doe noe lesse delighte then if yt were a bewtifull child, or rather some mighty man, whom none is able to looke in the face, much lesse to throwe to the grounde. w^ch^ enterprise, that you wold take in hand although consideringe how you are worne w^th^ labors and cares continually, we cannot well open our mouthes once to aske, yet seeing how god hath all manner waies furnished yow with power aboue any of his seruantes amongst us, for his Churches sake to serue her to the vanquishinge euen of an hoste of proude Goliathes that shall put themselues in armes against hir[2] we doe most earnestlie w^th^ all o^r^ hartes beseech you (and if we yo^r^ brethren w^ch^ are moe then you, can doe any more than beseech we doe yt) that you will undertake cherfullie and with good courage all excuses set apparte, and spedilie out of hand w^th^out delay, this great affaire: dispatch this monster that is come out of the Campe of these uncircumcised, to chalenge (as yt were), and we thinke that they which haue set him forth being discouraged, will forsake the field, and turne their backes upon us. but whether they will or noe, the lordes army, as well the chieff capteyns as the souldiers, being greatlie comforted by the foyle of the aduersary shalbe forced to singe, He and he haue slayne their thousandes, but this man of God hath slayne his tenne thousandes. And besides that, the performaunce of this enterprise may be a good meanes to insynuate you into the hartes of the highest magistrates to the restoring of you unto us, and unto the service of the Churche in some more highe and open place. Assure yo^r^ self that you shall doe a worthie piece of service unto God, w^ch^ wilbe a cause of much peace unto yo^r^ soule. therfore if you haue receyued all that you haue to the relieff of the Church being any waies assaulted, if you care for the discouragemente of the desperate enemy, and the comforte

[1] The translation of the Bible into English by the English Jesuit School at Rheims. This letter was only one of many, from Walsingham and many ministers, urging Cartwright's work. His labours lasted three or four years; it then became known in manuscript (Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 21), was disapproved by authority, and not printed until 1618, when it was secretly published, probably abroad. On the character of the Jesuit work and Cartwright's answer *see* Strype, *Annals*, iii. part i. 271, 287–91; *Whitgift*, i. 484.

[2] 'him' or 'hir;' the written word may be either.

of all yo^r^ brethren, if you like to be brought into favoure to the greater and more publike use of those noble graces wherw^th^ you be endued: To conclude, if you take any pleasure in doing that service w^ch^ is acceptable to him, who hath called you and will bringe quietness to yo^r^ owne conscience, gird your sword unto your thighe, go forward in this strength of yo^rs^, make naked your arme, fight manfully this battle and prevaile. We for our partes, soe long as you are in the skirmishe, will hold up unto our god (as our weake handes will geue us leaue) that staffe wherby he worketh all his miracles, and geueth all his victories unto his servauntes. Thus w^th^ our humble praiers unto our good god for your good successe in yo^r^ mynistery, and for the stirringe of you up to this holie busynes, and the blessing of you in it, we take our leave desiringe you to remember us with our Charges. ffrom Dedham.

19 Aprill, 1583.

Your louinge and faithfull brethren.

Edmund Chapman.	Richard Crick.
Thomas Farrar.	William Teye.
Richard Dowe.	Thomas Stoughton.
Thomas Morse.	Richard Parker.

To his most loving and reuerend brethren the mynisters of Suffolke and Essex to be directed unto them by the handes of M^r^ D. Chapman and M^r^ Knewstub.

To tell you the truth, my reuerend and loving brethren, havinge bene diuersly and earnestlie delte w^th^ in the same suite that you write me of, I yelded my weake shulders unto soe heavy a burden, wherfore although I knowe what interest yow haue euen to command me in the thinges wh^ch^ I can conveniently doe yet hauinge geuen my promise before yo^r^ request. I wante some parte of the comforte w^ch^ I shuld have receyved if your demand had prevented my promise, for I shuld by soe much more haue undertaken the worke w^th^ greate assurance, as by a fuller consent of the godlie lerned brethren, I mighte haue heard the lord more plainly and more distinctly speaking unto me. . . .

ffrom Middeborough the 5 of May the morrow after the receipt of yo^r^ loving letters. (1583)

Your bounden and lovinge brother.

Thomas Cartwrighte.

To my most lovinge frind and Christian brother, M^r^ Thos: Cartwright D. D.[1] f. 249.

Sir. I acknowledge w^th^ my brethren how excellent a benefite yt were to enioy your conference at home in our owne Churche, but seeing that is still denied us for our unthankfulness we are forced to require yo^r^ counsell by writinge and although I fully purposed not to haue interrupted yo^r^ studie before the perfectinge of that worthie work the lord hath set yo^w^ aboute, yet presuminge of yo^r^ patience, and desiring earnestly to be confirmed or reformed in a cause of some weighte (as I take it) I could spare yow no longer. The cause is that miserable distraction that is betwene the preachers and professors of our english church for matters of ecclesiasticall gouernmente, w^ch^ bicause yt waxeth stronger daily and yeldeth forth manifold and fearfull offences, w^th^ small evidence or hope of good to springe there out, I confesse to yow, my most entier brother, that I feele in myself some dislike of both parties for their hotte and violent manner of proceedinge, either seekinge by all meanes to conquer and deface thother, not dulie regarding the holie Communion they haue in their head Christ Jesus, and among themselues being fellow members of him. I know the truth is pretious and must be maynteyned and stood for, and put forward as far as any waie is made open for yt: But I most humblie and earnestlie desire yow in whom I haue long obserued a speciall grace of sober and uprighte iudgmente, to imparte w^th^ me some of yo^r^ holy meditations in this behalf as whether a more mild and brotherlie course were not to be taken up of us for the framinge aswell of their affections as of their iudgments to some better acceptation of us, and our cause, w^ch^ being better approved and blessed of the Lorde, that huge blocke of our to open and bitter dissention mighte be taken out of their way that are yet to enter into the Church, the comfortes of all the professors might more abound, and a great deale of syne now committed in harte, gestures, speeches, practices and harde dealinge on both sides beaten back and prevented: w^ch^ if it haue come into yo^r^ mynd w^th^ any allowance, I wold most gladlie be made partaker of it, w^th^

[1] Probably one of the most remarkable letters preserved to us of all the Puritan correspondence. It shows us how far from firm in their ideas the leaders themselves were, and how far they were from the ranting and extremes in which their followers indulged. This the following letters show clearly. *See also* Chapman to Field, p. 95.

your best direction, if not now duringe the Parliament (a fytt tyme to deale for peace) yet afterward at yo^{r} best leysure, what way might best be taken for the execution of any such good course, as might most stand wth the rule of the holy word of God. Thus Thus desiring yo^{w} unfeignedly to lay out your iudgment freelie of this motion, I rest in this mynd not to imparte wth any other brother what I thinke of it till I shall heare from yo^{w}. Thus not forgetting to entreate the lord of liff for your good estate and for yours, to whom I pray you make my very hartie commendations, I cease for this tyme.

Dedham 4 November 1584.

To you greatlie beholden,

EDMUNDE CHAPMAN.

f. 249 b. To his loving brother in Christ and fellow labourer in the worke of the Lorde, M^{r} Parker Pastor to the Church at Dedham, be these geuen.

Grace mercy and peace be multiplied upon yow etc. I receyued your Christian letters gratulatory, ministring partlie joy but most cause of sorow in respecte of the obstinate ambitious tirany of that Prelate in suspending yo^{r} mynistery, and staying the free course of the Gosple in yo^{r} Church not wthstanding these daungerous daies, when moste need is of the Chariots and horses of Israell, and the Trumpets wth loude voices sounded to the battle, that Joshua fighting the Lordes battle against the Amalekites, Moses, Aaron, and Hur, shuld hold up their handes to the Lorde. The Prelates profaninge of that holie ordynance of fasting encreaseth this sorow conceaued of a manifest prognostication of the Lordes wrath against this land in hardening their hartes and stopping their eies and eares from seeing or hearing the lamentable compleyninges of the estate of the Churches, but the Lord wilbe reuenged on them, and howsoeuer you according to the measure of grace giuen you, do apply their cruelty to your synes, yet they respect the contrary, euen the punishing of the gratious giftes of god in you and would by subtelty or tirany quench the spirite of god in you. but stand fast, kepe a good conscience and yeld not a hooffe, imitatinge the faithfull courage and constancy of Moses in removing all out of Egipt: Concerninge the fast appointed, I pray you certify me forthwth what order D. Chapman wth other the godly brethren doe take, that we about Peldon may

ioigne w^th^ one uniforme consent, or whether they deferre yt untill the next meetinge, w^ch^ I thinke wold be best for some considerations, if other Churches do not begynn before, therfore in my iudgment other faithfull brethren wold be consulted w^th^ that with one harte mynd and order, the Churches mighte deale w^th^ the Lorde by fervent prayer, and make a manifest and open contradiction to the B^s^ superstitious or profane fastinge and mumbling of their matters, so as the common ignorant people may plainely see the difference betwene the glorious ordinance of the Lord and the imagined shadow of the B^s^ traditions. Salute D. Chapman and other the saincts of god w^th^ all your wiues: The lord blesse you and encourage you in this triall of your faith, beseching him to restore yo^w^ to the worke of yo^r^ mynistery. Farewell.

ffrom Laierdelehay. 22 decembris. (1587)

Yours in the lord to use.

W. Teye.

To my faithfull brother in the Lord. M^r^ Tay Pastor to the Church of God in Peldon. f. 249 b.

The grace of the lord Jesus Christ be multiplied upon us. The care you haue ouer other churches beside your owne moueth me to write, geuing god thankes in yo^r^ behalf and praying him that your zeale may abound more and more. Let the state of my people moue you the oftener to solicite god for me and them. I see a miserable desolation like to come upon us, for as halfe the bewty of our Church, and half the food of our soules is quite taken away, soe I feare the losse of thother parte, if god be not mercifull unto us, soe as I am distracted what to doe for the people, not that I stand in doubte or wauering whether I shuld yeld or noe, for therein I am resolute, as I protested publikely in the Courte, but I am often solicited to preach notwithstanding my suspension, and therefore do desire some reasons to stay my conscience w^th^ comforte in this action, w^ch^ I thought to haue moued the brethren in the last tyme, but upon your letters sent to that end and effecte, I staied, hoping the next tyme you will personally moue the same who can follow yt w^th^ som force and weighte of argumentes out of the worde: for in myself I professe, that as yet I see little to hold me from preaching, yet these reasons I haue thought of: first the practise of some lerned pastors that cease and of the Teachers generally, w^ch^ example of the Teachers doth

not weigh soe much wth me, being not so verilie tied to their people: Secondlie the peace and profitt of the Church, for by law I am irregular, and soe made unfitt to doe good to the Church in the tyme to come. And againe I haue thought of this: they doe not forbid us to preach in Christs name but for our disobedience to politike lawes doe inhibite us for a tyme. Now let me heare your reasons, and let us ioigne for god and his cause ioyntly and soundly wth good aduise out of the word of god, and if we see and find that god requireth it, let us wth praier addresse our selues to yt whatsoeuer come of yt: I am the least of all the brethren, yet I hope I wold not be last to subscribe to such a course sufficiently warranted by the lordes worde: I thanke you for your letters sent me since mie trouble, w^{ch} did confirme me in that I was resolued in before, and hope shalbe alwaies to my comforte. Pray for me wth lowde crie to god, for my synes deserue that my voice shuld neuer be heard agayne in his Church.[1] Pray for this people I besech yow, that god wold fill their harts full of loue to his ma^{ty} and then shall follow loue to his Church and zeale against syne. I heard of yo^{r} cominge to o^{r} Church: if you were purposed hold on or els write to M^{r} D. Chapman mouing him to sue for my release, and for the punishing of this lewd woman that is the ground of my troubles. I know he is froward inough and the people also, nether wold I haue any such thing intymated to him, yet your letters wold not hinder but further this cause. Thus thanking you for all the testimonies of your unfeigned loue to me, and to my brother wth you who was this night past in our towne, and ridd hastelie away, wth salutations in Christ to your wieff and your sonne, I commend you to him who is able to kepe you safe and blameless till the coming of his sonne Jesus Christ. pray. pray.

Dedham this xvij Februa: 1587.

Y^{r} loving brother in Christ,

RICHARD PARKER.

[1] Note how these unctuous utterances are contradicted flatly by the very subject matter of his letter, showing that to the man himself most of this must have been either forms assumed on purpose or forms whose specific meaning he failed to grasp.

To my fellow laborer in the work of the Lord Mr Parker. f. 250.
Pastor of the Church at Dedham.

Tutching the young man yow write of, I pray you cause him to come ouer to Peldon, assone as you can, who (assure yourself) shalbe enterteyned to yor good contentation being soe qualified as yow note, howbeit for the better satisfying of my people, if it wold please D. Chapman to write a few wordes or subscribe to that yow shall write, he shuld be better thought of. The Lord blesse you: pray, pray, the daies are euell. At our meetinge I forgott to moue the brethren concerning the Archdeacons visitacions: in my mynd if D. Withers [1] wold thereunto consent, the auncient forme of Synodes might easely be restored: Scilicet that D. Withers as Moderator of the Accon, wold cause all the godlie brethren to meete together and soe conferre of such pointes as concerned the Churche, where as now we are called together and doe nothing but lose our tyme and spend our money. I pray you therfore (if you and other brethren thinke conveient) conferre wth D. Chapman desiringe him to write to D. Withers about it, that some begynning may be at this visitacion, and more at the next Synodes. I hope by this conference we shuld helpe our church wardens and free them of their othe: or at least haue their Articles made in such sorte that lawfully they might sweare. Salute all our good brethren farewell.

8 September. Yors in the Lord.
W. Teye.

[1] Withers was Archdeacon of Colchester. It was customary on visitation for the clergy of a district (or some of them) with the churchwardens and sidesmen to meet the Archdeacon and his assistants at some parish church, where they made a report to him of the state of their several churches, basing it upon the Articles of Visitation presented to them by the Archdeacon. The order and method of proceeding lay wholly with the Archdeacon, who could have made it, as Teye said, a sort of synod. This would form a kind of local presbytery. The Bishop's visitation could then in like manner be made a provincial synod, and the Archbishop's a national. This was by far the most rational plan under discussion for transforming episcopacy into modified presbytery. *See also* Sampson's 'Book for the Parliament,' for another scheme, *Annals*, iii. pt. i. 320.

ff. 250 b–254. 6 Meeting.

Certaine Observations deducted out of sondrie statutes for such as are suspended or excommunicated by B^s^ Chancelors, Archdeacons, Commissaries or Officials to defend themselves against their usurped Tirany.

Noe excommunicates persons may exercise Jurisdiction Ecclicall, but what soeuer such shall doe is meerely voyde.

But the B^s^ Chancelors Archd: etc. are persons excommunicate: ipso facto per Canones, therfore they ought not to exercise Jurisdiction ecclicall but whatsoeuer they doe is voyde.

All canons repugnante to the holy worde of god and statutes of this lande are disanull and of noe force. But such Canons as wherby the B^s^ Chancelers, Archdeacons and Officials by their sole authority doe suspend or excommunicate are repugnant to godes worde and statutes of this lande, ergo such are voyde and so per consequens their suspensions and excommunications of noe force.

All sentences iudiciall not done by a lawfull competente Judge are voyde: But the Commissary and Official of Colchester is no lawfull nor competent Judge therfore such sentences as he adiudgeth are voyde. The reason of the minor proposition is that he is no doctor of lawe. The statute Hen. VIII 37 cap. 17.[1]

Noe Canons or Iniunctions shalbe of Authority made by the Convocation house or other authority ecclicall except the Kinges hand be to the same to authorize them. Hen. VIII A° 25. cap. 19. But these Canons Articles and Iniunctions wherunto the Officials require presentments were neuer subscribed nor authorized by her maiesty therfore they are of noe force but merely voyde . . . .[2]

(Then follow some quotations from Linwood.)

[1] The courts decided on this point, however, that the statute was affirmative and not restrictive, and that others than doctors of laws might be commissaries. Pratt *v.* Stocke, 1 Croke's *Reports*, p. 314; cf. Smith *v.* Clarke, *ibid.* p. 252, and Paget *v.* Crumpton, *ibid.* p. 659.

[2] Legally this is not well taken. These articles had not in that exact form been passed by royal authority but were in substance contained in others that had been confirmed. Moreover a sufficient amount of the Queen's authority had been delegated to the Bishops to have legalised any such articles.

To the reverend brethren and faithfull mynisters of the most holy worde. Mr D. Chapman. D. Cricke wth others be these geuen. f. 251.

Grace mercy and peace be multiplied upon yow etc. my deere brethren whom I reverence in the lorde, with grieff of mynd and a troubled spirite, I am witholden from yor holie and blessed fellowshipp and mutuall conference, soe that wch by word of mouth, I was purposed to haue moued, rudelie by pen I am to signify and lay before your wisdomes to consider of: briefly the points be these: the glory of god dishonored, the Kingdome of Christ Jesus subuerted, the ministration of the spirite abolished, the freedome and authority of the mynistry captivated and contemned and Antichrist tyrannizing the Church by our Bs magnified and exalted aboue measure: are these thinges yet to be tolerated? What meaneth the holie Apostle to reproche the Corinthians for suffringe fooles gladly, they being wise for suffring euen a man to bring them into bondage, to devoure them, to take away their goodes, to exalt himself, to smite them on the face. The lord giue us understanding hartes to compare times, persons and actions wisely. I pray you resolue this question whether the synne of Diotrephes or the synne of our Bishops is the greater and more tolerable. And whether our Bs are not such as the Apostle Jude speaketh of (8 verse) that despise gouernment (scil. ecclesiasticall), and speake euell of them that are in authority (scil. the presbytery,) preferring their politicall, carnall, humane Jurisdiction and Hierarchie before the spirituall and heauenly ordynance of the lorde for the gouernment of his Church. The truth of these points being serched and found out, the Lord giue us courage and fortitude to stand in the truth and to quitte ourselues like valiant men in the lorde his cause. valete: pray, pray, pray for me. Febr. 2.

Yors in the Lord.

W. Tye.

To his very reuerent and faithfull frind Mr D. Withers, preacher[1] of the glorious Gosple of Christ Jesus at Danbury. f. 251.

Grace and peace. whereas our faithfull brethren and fellow preachers of the gosple in these partes haue preferred certeine

[1] George Withers, M.A. of Cambridge, abroad during Mary; 1560, preacher at Bury St. Edmunds; 1562, at Swaffham, co. Cambridge; 1565, deprived for not wearing the cap, but submitted. Rector of Danbury, Essex, 1572–1605; Archdeacon

requestes unto yow, verie much tending in my iudgment to the comforte of many consciences: These are in most earnest manner to besech yow to tender and promote the same: wor(l)dly (sic) pollicy may minister many pretenses of reiectinge them, but the good persuasion I still retayne of your zeale and courage in the lordes causes greatly assureth me: that soe necessary and fruictfull motions shall even thankfully be accepted of: and that you will cherfully employ yo^{r} wisedome and authority to the good and speedy accomplishment of them: how the zeale of many decaieth, and the spirituall slumber invadeth, and possesseth many, you behold and lament wth us. What will then become of the Church and of God his glory, if some steppe not forward to stoppe the course of these retirers and to beare up the scepter of his holy truth: little yt is, that some of us can doe to the reforminge of any thing that is amisse in the Church with the peace of yt: and therfore the greater care oughte to be used to performe anything that lieth in our power. If I were not drawen into Northfolke at this presente, I wold haue thoughte my iourney righte well bestowed about further conference and larger debatinge wth yo^{w} of this matter. but seeing opportunity for the performinge of this duty faileth, I pray yo^{w} most hartely in the lorde, to waigh all thinges according to that reuerent and holie trust that we hold of yow in this and such like causes. The same God of grace and power enable us alwaies to stand for his glory wth zeale and knowledge.

Dedham. 17 September 1584.

Yours still in the lorde.

EDMUNDE CHAPMAN.

f. 251 b. Certain requests to be moued to D. Withers Archdeacon of Colchester for the libertie of those Churches in his iurisdiction w^{ch} haue faithfull ministers set over them.

1. That he wold free the godly lerned ministers from his Courtes inasmuch as by the word of god they ought to be free from such bondages, and by the law of the land visitacõn shuld be onlie where there was need.

of Colchester from 1570 till his death in 1617. His letter to Burghley consequent on this petition is given in full in Strype, *Annals*, iii. part ii. 268, and there are other letters concerning a mission of his to get the aid of Beza and others for Puritanism in 1567 in *Zürich Letters*, ii. 146, 152, 156; also Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 74.

2. Secondlie that he wold not exacte an othe of the Churchwardens and Sidemen seeing his office is not to require an othe nether the Articles offred them deserue an othe, nether being sworne are they able to kepe their othe except they shuld dishonor God and breake the band of Charity.

3. That he wold not receaue any bill of presentment against any person except the mynister with the godlie parishioners had first used all good meanes to bring the partye offending to repentance, w^{ch} being refused and his obstinacy apparent he mighte then proceed against him in his lawe and this doth the law of god and of this land require.

4. ffourthlie that he wold noe more abuse that sacred ecclesiasticall censure of the Excommunication but to suffer those whom god hath appointed by his Ordynance to use yt.

5. That he wold not suffer any bare reader.

6. That he wold not inducte any insufficient minister but by the lawe of god and law of the land to withold such.

7. that he wold in some wise pollicy helpe to erecte some like exercise as was the prophecy for the triall and increasing of mynisters giftes and for the acquaintinge of them together in loue.

8. if he will not grante us our freedome yet at least to chalenge his visitacions to be as Synodes were in thold tyme, where we may use our freedome in conference and determyning of ecclesiasticall matters with him as fellow labourers and brethren.

By yo^{r} fellow mynisters and louing brethren.

M^{r} Monke,	M^{r} Cocke.
M^{r} Farrur.	M^{r} Upcher.
M^{r} Teyes.	M^{r} Newman.
M^{r} Parker.	M^{r} Hawden.
M^{r} Lewis.	M^{r} Beamonde.
M^{r} Searle.	M^{r} Tunstall.[1]

f. 251 b.

On the Catechism. (a very long paper).

In the 13 meeting we find a question moued emong the brethren what forme of Catechisinge shuld be used whether we mighte [use] the formes sett downe in a booke, or use only the written worde of god. The iudgments of the brethren in this point follow.

[1] For notices of Robert Monke, Robert Searle, William Cocke, Thomas Upcher, Mr. Hawdon, Stephen Beamont, and William Tunstall *see* Introduction.

ffirst bicause the word of god and man are confounded therfore we ought not to use a booke. 2. although the Jewes had in their families formes of instructions yet for publike use in the Church they had nothing but godes worde, and were commanded to use nothing els there.

Mr. Farrar: Obiection, what say ye then to the Creed: Answ. bicause it is so universally receyved and so neere the wordes of scripture, and being not any private mans iudgment yt may be used: but for using a Catechisme I thinke it unlawfull, and see no cause why we shuld not receyve into the Church the labors of men sound and godlie as a Catechisme and why may not homilies be allowed in a Church as well as they.

Mr. Sandes. In the 6 Hebr. we find certeine generall heades set downe wherin the yong ones were examyned. This is confirmed by the Apostles practise, that they took noe places of scripture, but some generall heades as of Justification and Resurrection etc. and so they teach. Againe the lordes practise in setting out the ten commandementes, and in that forme of praiers are receyved into the Church; these shew yt a Catechisme that is a forme of teaching the yonger may be used. And the forme of the Creed may be followed, and the history of all times. and writings of all men speaking of the 6 Hebr. do confirme this that I haue said.

Mr. Chapman. Some Certeyne forme may be used for trayning the people in the church: as for example, though there be good praiers in the Scriptures set downe it is lawfull to use a larger forme of praier to edify: and bicause outward thinges and the ordring of ceremonies be left to the Church if they tend to edifying: and bicause also the people be simple and the yong ones cannot be els trayned up, I thinke yt lawfull to use a Catechisme.[1]

Mr. Lewis. I thinke it lawfull to use a Catechisme. 1. It is the easiest and best way to trayne up yong ones and the ruder sorte. 2. we be enioigned to it and as we may doe it lawfully: soe we shuld doe yt. 3. we haue law to enforce them to come to be enstructed by a booke. 4. The practice of all reformed Churches and I shuld not without great examynation by my

[1] But the Bishops claimed no more than this. Hence the Bishops' deduction: 'Seeing they are so greatly offended with this book, what is it they desire themselves? Forsooth, a book they could be contented to have, but it must be of their own making.' Bancroft, Sermon at Paul's Cross.

practise disproue the iudgment of soe many godlie Churches who use a Catechisme.

Mr. Dowe. It is not lawfull to expound Catechismes in y^e^ Church. No mans writinges are to be expounded in the Church. but written Catechismes are such. ergo. . . . . .

(*Here follow a long list of objections and answers, not material.*)

A note of the Articles wherunto some mynisters in Essex subscribed whose names follow. f. 252 b.

1. To the first article concerninge her maiesties soueraigne authority under god, we deny all foreigne authority and power, and according to the 37 article in the Booke of Articles w^ch^ is of civill magistrates teacheth us: that is, that all such prerogatyue is to be geuen unto her maiesty ouer all persons. w^ch^ we see to haue bene geuen to all godlie princes in holy scriptures by god himself, we willingly subscribe and shall by the grace of Almightie god be ready to the uttermost w^h^ our goodes and lyues to maynteyne the same.

2. Concerninge the booke of Comon praier and consecration of B^ps^ as we haue bene carefull and still wilbe for the peace of the church both in ourselues and o^r^ people, soe we humbly crave we may be tendred herein, not daring for conscience sake to subscribe thereto.

To the 3 of the booke of Articles as farre as by Parliament they haue bene thought meete shuld be required that such only as concerne Doctrine of faith and Sacraments taking them in the best sense as is most meete for us soe to doe, we most willinglie subscribe.[1]

Richard Parker. Will Cocke. Robt. Searle. Lawrence Newman. Tho. Knyvet.[2] Tho. Morris. Tho. Upcher. Thomas Farrur. Robert Lewis. John Bounde. Robert Monke. Tho. Lowe. Ralf Hawden. Stephen Beamond. John Waltham.

[1] 13 Eliz. c. 12 ordained that a minister should 'declare his assent and subscribe to all the articles of religion which *only* concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments.' This was interpreted by the Puritans as freeing them from assent to any article which savoured of Church government. The Churchmen declared that 'only' meant not 'merely,' but 'nothing but.'

[2] Thomas Knevett; *see* Introduction. Morris, Bounde, and Waltham cannot be traced elsewhere.

252 b. The testimony of the brethren tutching a draught of discipline.[1]

The brethren assembled together in the name of god, hauing heard and examyned by the worde of god according to their best hability and iudgmente in yt a draughte of discipline essentiall and necessary for all tymes and Synodicall gathered out of the Synodes. and use of the Churches haue thoughte good to testify concerninge yt as followeth.

1. We acknowledge and confesse the same agreable to godes most holy worde soe far forth as we are able to iudge and discerne of yt. we affirme yt to be the same w^{ch} we desire to be established in this Church by daily praier to god. and w^{ch} we promise as god shall offer oportunities, and geue to us to discerne it soe expedient by humble suite to her maiestie, her honorable Counsell and the Parliament and by all other lawfull and convenient meanes to further and advance.

2. Soe farre as the lawes of the land and the peace of our present state of our church may suffer and not enforce to the Contrary we promise to guide ourselues and to be guided by it and according to it.

3. ffor more especiall declaration of some points more importune and necessary we promise uniformly to follow such order wher we preach the word of god as in the booke allowed by us is set downe in the Chapters of the office of mynisters of the worde of preaching or sermons, of Sacraments, of Baptisme, and of the Lordes supper concerning the tyme.

4. ffurther also to follow the order set downe in the Chapter of the meetinges as farre as yt concerneth the ministers of the worde, for w^{ch} purpose we promise to meete euery six weekes together in Classicall conferences with such of the brethren here assembled as for their nieghborhood may fytt us best and such other as by their aduise we shalle desire to ioigne wth us.

5. The like we promise for provinciall meetinges euery half-

[1] Articles 1–5 of this form are given practically verbatim by Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 502–3. Neal gives a somewhat fuller form of the same articles, *Puritans*, i. 470 (1816), and at the end of the 'Discipline' another quite different, *id.* v. 292. Yet neither mentions even the existence of those articles following. It is possible that Articles 1–5 were issued by the General Synod to be signed by all classes, and that individual classes then added other articles limiting or adding to the first few. But Bancroft (tract, f. 110) gives the whole, as it here stands, as the general form sent out by the Synod. This should be final.

yeare from our conferences to send unto them, as is set downe in the Chapter concerning the Provinces and conferences belonging to them being devided according to such order as is set downe in that behalfe.

6. About Essex are nominated M^r^ Northie, M^r^ Teye, M^r^ Newman, M^r^ Gifford, M^r^ Hawden, M^r^ Tunstall, M^r^ Dente,[1] and whomsoeuer els the brethren there shall thinke well of.

7. The conferences of the brethren present to belong all to one province till yt be further ordered.

8. For the booke of Lyturgie in use, yt is agreed to leave men for Questions concerning yt to the aduise of their conferences seeing they already haue had cause to discover the wantes thereof and forbeare them in many partes as they doe.

9. The Geneva Liturgie as yt hath bene corrected is to be communicated with the conferences and the booke to be preferred here at the parliament and used in the partes abroade if the brethren there shall thinke good.

10. It is agreed that the mynisters w^ch^ are able to beare the charges of yt shall entertayne a student of Divinity being well grounded in other knowledge of Artes and tongues, whom by directing in those studies by his owne example and all good meanes he make fytte to serue the Church in the mynistery of the Gosple, and that such as are not able shuld yet, (the charges being otherwise borne) performe the like duty and care that there may be alwaies sufficient and able men in the Church for that Callinge.

11. London the next place for the next provinciall conference about the midst of Michaelmas terme.

12. The oppressions of the B^s^, their courtes and officers are to be registered and gathered towardes the people, but especially towardes the mynisters.[2]

13. The ffrench Churches povertie is to be solicited according to their letters in that behalf delyuered.

[1] Arthur Dent; *see* Introduction. This section was, of course, an addition to the general form, and was filled in or not by each individual classis as it saw fit.

[2] The outcome of this agreement was the Marprelate Tracts to try what might be done by ridicule. Everything, however, concerning the origin and purpose of those tracts is too vague to demonstrate this point. Whatever the purpose, it was well thought out, intentional, and far from being any wild demonstration of fanaticism.

f. 254. 18 meeting.

A generall conference agreed on Pride Calendas Septeb. 1584.

It is thoughte good that a generall conference be procured from Suffolke, Norfolk, Kent, London, Essex, and for Essex these to begyne.

Mr D. Chapman.	Mr Northy.
Mr Gifforde.	Mr Rogers.[1]
Mr Wrighte.	Mr Huckle.[2]
Mr Teye.	Mr Tuke.
Mr Newman.	Mr Hawden.

The matters to be considered of against the first day of the Terme wth their opinion and aduise of the same, what way were best for the present grieff of the Churche. Whether yt were not fytt that a generall supplication were presented to her Majesty with a full draughte of the discipline we desire, and of the reasons for wch subscription is refused ether by all the mynistery favouring this cause or such as already suffer. Whether a fast were not to be holden upon the same day in as many places as may conveniently and whether publike or private.

Our opinion of London: To the first affirmatiuely. So likewise to the second, soe to the third, but the fast private and by mynisters.

Last of all this was moued: if the proceeding begon contynue and goe forward in putting the preachers to silence and laying wast the Churches, what the duty of the mynisters is in this behalf, what charge they haue from god of the Church how far they may yeld to cease for their preachinge, and what duty is to be done by them in such a case, whether after aduise taken yt were not good that two or three might be appointed to signify the place and tyme agreed upon.

f. 254. To our lovinge brethren the mynisters of the word of god in London etc.

Grace and peace etc. As we are persuaded of your godlie care. (our verie good brethren) to put forward by all meanes the good estate of the Church, striving together with you by or hartie praiers and contynuall cries unto our most mercifull father for his

[1] Richard Rogers; *see* Introduction.

[2] John Huckle; *see* Introduction.

gracious blessing therein: so we in absence from you as duty byndeth us (being in some measure myndfull of you and the good cause for the w^ch^ you are there to our comforts emploied.) haue thought that whereas by the favoure of God, the Courte of Parliament is alreadie possessed w^th^ our peticon for Reformacion and standeth now in need of all helpes to further the same, this mighte be one good way emongst others that by some of you a very earnest supplication be drawen, instantlie besechinge them of the Parliament house by all meanes to promote the cause of the Church commended already unto them, and that all forceable reasons may be set downe in the best and most effectuall maner to perswade them thereunto and the same to be delyuered by some faithfull gentlemen to the Speaker.[1] requesting him openly to reade the same unto the whole house. Thus signifying unto y^ow^ what we thinke herein and commending the same unto yo^r^ godly considerations, we committ you and all yo^r^ labors to the blessing of our most mercifull father.

Yo^r^ loving brethren in Christ.

Ed. Chapman.	Richard Crick.
Tho. Farrur.	Richard Dowe.
Laurence Newman.	Richard Parker.

. . . . . .

To my verie good brother in Christ, M^r^ Field[2] preacher of godes worde. f. 254.

By the meanes of to much straungnes (as yt seemeth to me) we are distracted into a miserable variety of Answers to these Articles, w^ch^ I feare one day wilbe cast as dunge upon o^r^ faces. Remoue the cause, persuade to loue and kindnes, correcte the inordinate zeale of some, who thinke yt a greate peece of religion to iudge and exclude others whom they loue not. and let us growe to a more generall conference for unity both in affection and iudgment if yt may be, that we may see and feele more comforte in

[1] That is, there was to be no more formal presentation of petitions to Parliament as such. Henceforth they should be sent to the Speaker personally. No legal proceedings would then be possible.

[2] John Field, one of the chief administrators and leaders of this movement, the head with Wilcox of the London Classis, one of the compilers of the 'Admonition to Parl.' of 1571, a very active and prominent man. *See* Introduction.

ourselues and in our brethren. Such a holy meetinge is longed for of many, write what you thinke good herin.

Salute o^{r} good brethren and pray,

Yours in Christ

ED. CHAPMAN.

f. 254. To my reuerend brother in Christ D. Chapman Teacher of godes word at Dedham.

Faith and assurance in Christ unto thend Amen. Sir. though our entercourse of writinge hath faynted of late, yet methinkes there is good occasion giuen that yt shuld be agayne renewed, for the trials being many that are laid upon us it shuld provoke us to stirre up one another that we might stand fast and yeld a good witnes unto that truth wherof he hath with comforte made us messengers unto many. And surelie herof I feele myself to haue great need who am priuy to myne owne weaknes, hauing bene strongly drawen of late not to be soe carefull diligent and zealous in Godes causes as I was wonte, this unhappy tyme of looseness and liberty gayning upon me and choking those good thinges w^{ch} I thanke god I was wonte to feele in greater measure. I besech you therfore helpe me wth your praiers, wth your good counsell and wth those giftes, w^{ch} God in mercy hath richly bestowed on you. Let not his mercies be in vayne, who hath of late visited you that you mighte remember to lyue to the praise of his name. Our new Archbishopp, now he is in,[1] sheweth himself as he was wonte to be. What good their ambitious pompe, and papall authority will bring to the gosple hath partly appeared already and will appeare more hereafter, if god break not his hornes: for certeinly he is egerly set to ouerthrowe and wast his poore Church, use what meanes you can by writing, consultinge and speakinge with those whom yt concerneth and who may doe good. It wilbe to late to deale afterwarde. The peace of the Church is at an End, if he be not curbed. you are wise to consider by aduise and by ioigning together now to strengthen yo^{r} handes in this worke. The Lord directe both you and us that we may fighte a good fighte and fynish wth ioy. Amen.

ffare you well. the 19 of this 11th moneth [2] 1583.

Yo^{r} assured in Christ

JOH: FEILDE.

. . . . . .

[1] Whitgift, consecrated October 23, 1583.

[2] February probably; the year began March 25, o.s.

19 Meeting. Not lawfull to cease preching at the B^s^ inhibi- f. 255.
tion. which I proue thus :

1. The true mynister is sent of god and approved of the Church to preach ; ergo man alone ought not to inhibite ; but if man presume to inhibite, the mynister is to stand in the callinge of god.

2. If it be lawfull to kepe silence at the B^'s^ inhibition, the strength and stability of the Church shuld depend upon a man, but that is intolerable, ergo, it is not lawfull to be silent.

3. All authority ouer the Church ether in placinge or displacinge mynisters is giuen to Christ Math. 28. 27; Apocol. 1. 13. 16. 20; 3, 1–7. ergo where Christ doth place man ought not to displace.

4. The B^'s^ authority is Antichristian, ergo not to be obeyed. . . .

7. In matters of liffe landes or goodes no subiecte to yeld his righte contrary to law to a tyrante but is bounde in conscience to use all lawfull meanes to the uttermost of his power. to defend his power. much more in matters concerning the glorie of god, the salvation of mens soules and the righte of the Churche as is the libertie of the mynistery and freedome of the people. . . .

An answer made by another godlie to the same poynte.

1. Two thinges especiallie are to be considered in the silencing of mynisters at this day: thous: whether they who doe prohibite the preachinge haue lawfull authority by the worde soe to doe.

2. Secondlie. whether the thinges urged upon the mynisters are such as they may w^th^ good conscience suffer for and soe rune into the daunger of Suspension. . . .

I wold therfore affirme (as I thinke) that nether the Authority of B^s^ is Antichristian nor yet the same meerlie from the civill magistrate especially that w^ch^ they exercise by vertue of the high Commission, if we looke into the righte use therof. And hereupon I thinke yt may be answered that for as much as our entrance hath bene by them and is yet contynued of all that daily enter, and that where iust causes be of silencing man alone, I meane such as exercise the Church discipline may inhibite and utterly expell the mynisterie. I alsoe thinke that the Church stability doth not stand nor depend upon man as is affirmed, though a man kepe silence at the B^s^ prohibition, for if a mynister

of Geneva shuld make a schisme in the Church there . . . . I wold thinke the Eldershipp there might proceed against him. . . .

f. 259. To our beloued brethren Mr. D. Chapman, D. Cricke, and Lewis and the rest. Peace be upon us and mercy and upon the Israell of God.

Whereas (beloued brethren) at the tyme of the laste Parliament order was taken by consent of many of our godlie brethren and fellow laboourers assembled at London[1] that all the mynisters w^ch^ favoured and soughte the reformation of o^r^ church shuld sorte themselues together to haue their meetinge to conferre about the matters of the church. besides suche exercises as shuld most make for their profiting euery way: It was further aduised that none shuld assemble aboue the number of ten, and therfore they w^ch^ exceeded that number shuld sorte themselues w^th^ others of their brethren next adioyninge where defecte was: According hereunto: we yo^r^ brethren, whose names are underwritten haue had our meetinge so oft as our troubles would giue us leave: but find in regard to the smalnes of o^r^ number and distance of place that we stand in need of further ayde of some to be adioyned unto us. whereupon understanding that God hath blessed you w^th^ store we are constrayned to make suite unto you that you wold of yo^r^ abundance supply our want: and namely, considering that our beloued brother Mr. Newman is one who may be profitable unto us, and in place most fytt both in respecte of you and us, our earnest desire is that you wold yeld this benefite unto us, w^ch^ we shall receaue as a pledge [of] yo^r^ loue w^th^ thankfulness and soe remayne in unfeigned loue indebted to you. The lord our god and merciful father multiply his graces upon us that according to the manifold wantes of his Church and the times wherein we may liue we may be enabled unto that high and mightie service he hath called us unto.[2] June 7, A° 1587.

Yours in the Truth.

RICHARD ROGERS. EZEKELL CULVERWELL.[3]
RÓGER CARR. JOHN HOCKILL.
GILES WHITINGE.

[1] Compare this account of the London Synod with Bancroft, p. 10.

[2] There follows in the MSS. the letter from Chapman and others declining the request, dated December 5, 1587.

[3] This Classis had its centre in Braintree. *See* Introduction.

Orders agreed upon the ix of August by Mr Doctor Chapman, Mr Parker and the Auncients of the Congregation of Dedham to be diligently obserued and kepte of all persons whatsoeuer dwellinge wthin the said Towne. f. 268 a & b.

1. Imprimis for the right use of the lordes daie, to be spent in holie exercises publikely and at home, in readinge and examyninge of their seruantes, all travaylinge to ffayres, marketts mariage dyners and dyners abroade or in the towne lefte of.

2. Item that all gouernors of household carefully endeuor themselues to frequent their owne churches before the begynninge of diuine seruice accompanied orderlie, and soberly with their seruantes and whole family, as many as may be spared at home for necessary uses of children etc.

3. Item that they cause their youth to present themselues at the times appointed to be examyned in the pointes of their Catechisme.

4. Item, that the lordes supper be celebrated euery first sondaie of every moneth.

5. Item that maryed persons or housholders resort to the Church at sixe of the clocke in the morninge upon wednesday Thursday and saturday before the communion to be examyned accordinge to the diuisions, and the youth the Saturday in the afternoone.

6. Item that euery communion ther be a Collection for the poore by one of the Church wardens after the cuppe be delyuered, and that they directe the Communicantes wher to sytte orderly and comly in their places.

7. Item that the Tuesdaie next followinge the communion Mr D. Chapman and Mr Parker and the auncients of the towne do meete to conferre of matters concerninge the good gouernment of the towne.[1]

8. Item. that so many as shalbe admitted to the Communion promise and professe to liue charitablie with all their neighbors, and if any occasion of displeasure arise, that they refraigninge from all discord or revenging by wordes, actions or suites will firste make the mynister and two other godlie and indifferent neighbors acquaynted wth the state of their causes before they proceed further by lawe or compleint out of the towne.

[1] 'to establish' struck out. Compare the rules of the town of Northampton 1571; *see* p. 14.

9. Item yt so many as be of habilitie invite to their howses one couple of such of their poore neighbors as haue submitted themselues to the good orders of the Churche, and walke christianly and honestlie in their callinges, and others of lesse hability any one such person providinge no more for them then ordenary and so longe as they shall thankfully accepte of the same.

10. Item yt all the housholders frequent the two lectures read euery weeke wth some of their servantes, at the leaste as many as may be spared in regard to their trades and callinges.

11. Item that all yonge children of the towne be taught to reade Englishe, and that the moity of that is giuen at the Communion be employed for the teaching of such poore mens children as shalbe iudged unable to beare yt themselues, and a convenient place to be appointed for the teacher of them.[1]

12. Item that all ministers and gouernors promise to receyve no prentices but such as can reade Englishe.

13. Item that none be suffred to remayne in the towne not havinge any callinge, that is not beinge a housholder, nor retayned of any.

14. Item. that euery quarter M^{r} D. Chapman, M^{r} Parker or one of them, wth two or three of the auncients of the towne, alwaies accompanied wth one of the Constables, do visitt the poore and chiefly the suspected places, that understandinge the miserable estate of those yt wante and the naughtie disposition of disordered persons, they may provide for them accordinglie.

15. Item That if anie be knowen to haue knowne one another carnally before the celebratinge of their mariage, that none accompanie them to the Church, nor from the Church, nor dine wth them yt day, and that the pastor at the baptisinge of the children of any such as be knowne to haue committed such filthines before the celebratinge of their mariage do publikely note and declare out the fault to all the congregation to the humblinge of the parties and terrifyinge of others from the like filthie profaninge of mariage.

f. 266. 29 Meeting. 20 Oct. 1585.

A profession freely made and approved by the voyces and handes of us whose names are underwritten that wth one firme

[1] Here is that desire for education of children and public provision for the poor children which later received so great a development in New England.

consent and harty affection we will (god enabling us) ioigne together for the observation and mayntenance of all christian order as well in our owne persons and families as also on ye whole body of the towne, and for the banishing of the contrary disorder so farre as shalbe shewed us by god his worde. to be required at our handes so longe as god shall geue us liffe in this world and namely in these particular and principal poyntes followinge. . . .[1]

. . . . . .

W. Buttor. Thos. Allen.
Ed. Sheran. R. Upcher.
H. Sheran. J. Upcher.
Percie Butler. St. Upcher.
R. Clarke.

The xiij of January 1582. I was enioigned to obserue the booke of Common praier in all respects and to read the Queens Iniunctions, weare the surplice and to certify the doing of it the first courte in Candlemas terme, or els to appeare personally before the Commissioners: but I appeared and yet through favour escaped their handes and yelded not unto them. I praise god.[2] f. 272 b.

55 Meetinge. this answereth to the question moued by Mr D. Cricke whether churchwardens in our tyme be to be used. 75 meeting. f. 273.

What course is the best for a good mynister in thenglishe Churche (where the right discipline is not in use) to take when as publike offenders being unrepentant are not proceeded against to the cuttinge of them of either from the Churche by the ecclesiastical officers or altogether from libertye or liffe by the Civill Magistrate.

Answere. That such a minister ought[illegible] starke or carelesse in such a case of impunity, for that were to incurre parte of the faulte reproued, but to use all good and lawfull

[1] Here follows the substance of the above 'Orders.'

[2] This is in Parker's handwriting; is evidently an original note made at the time and slipped into this book towards the end.

meanes for the correctinge of such parties and removinge of such offences; w^ch^ are of two sortes.

Some comon with other Christians.

Others properly incident to this owne callinge of the mynistery.

[*Methods.*—Private prayers; reprehensions and admonitions; 'withdrawinge from him the common tokens of loue and cheerful salutations;' procure other ministers to approve this minister's course; 'and callinge for the ayde of the magistrate to enforce both the private offendors and the negligent backwarde professors of the congregation to their Christian duties in this behalfe.']

f. 274. Another Question.

1. That private men ioigninge w^th^ their neighbors may deale for order ecclesticall in admonishinge and barringe from the Sacramentes, for wante of authority committed or other in the same place. 2. That our Churches consiste not of meere private men.[1]

[1] By 'private men' Parker says he means those outside the hierarchy of the Church.

INDEX

The complete index of names of the men concerned in this movement will be found in the Introduction. To have prepared an index of all the inconsequential mentions of these men in this Volume would have entailed a very considerable amount of space and not have rendered a very great service, for all of importance to know about them is believed to be contained in the list in the Introduction. Everything of importance, however, about the leaders of the movement will be found in this index.

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